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NATAL,

A RE-PRINT

OF ALL

THE AUTHENTIC NOTICES—DESCRIPTIONS—PUBLIC ACTS AND DOCUMENTS—PETITIONS—MANIFESTOES—CORRESPONDENCE—GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS AND PROCLAMATIONS—BULLETINS AND MILITARY DESPATCHES RELATIVE TO NATAL,

WITH

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT THAT SETTLEMENT;

IN TWO PARTS.

PART THE FIRST,

FROM A.D. 1498, TO A.D. 1837.

BY

JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE,

NOTARY PUBLIC, &c.

"———————————— what is said
Wisdom considers : what remains to say,
It will with patience hear; and find a time
Both meet to hear and answer highest things."
SHAKESPEARE.

GRAHAM'S TOWN:
R. GODLONTON, PRINTER, HIGH-STREET.
1843.

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MEMORANDUM.

The object of the present publication is to collect into one concentrated focus all that has appeared in print or otherwise respecting the country of Natal. The more specific purpose of this is to enable those persons, who feel an interest in the late extraordinary events at that place, to form, by such an array of facts, a dispassionate judgment thereon, so that, while a chance of justice may be given to the offended majesty of Great Britain, a chance may also be afforded of mercy and consideration to the errors of the unfortunate and much-to-be-pitied men, who occupy so painfully-prominent a part in the present history of our Colony. "*Audi alteram partem*" may be a complete triticism, but, nevertheless, particularly worthy of attention at this conjuncture; for there are—whatever may be urged of the indefeasible duty of allegiance on the one part, and the claim of protection by the subject for that allegiance on the other—*two sides to the Natal question.*

The compiler had intended to re-print the whole of these papers *without* gloss or comment, but it

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was found totally impossible to do so: he has, however, confined himself within such limits as merely to connect and explain the narrative of occurrences. It was also his wish to have completed the publication of the papers in a single pamphlet, but so much interesting matter has presented itself that he has found it requisite to divide the work into two parts. The first brings down the history to the close of the year 1837; the second will resume it at that point, and carry up the Narrative, Papers, &c., to the end of 1842. The second part is nearly ready for the press.

J. C. C.

Cradock's Town Sheep Walk,
Near Port Elizabeth, 29th November, 1842.

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NATAL.

A.D. 1498.

NATAL, at present the focus of all our colonial interest, and probably destined to become the scene of important events, on which some of the great problems of the law of nations will be practically discussed, appears to have been first discovered in 1498. In that year the illustrious VASCO DE GAMA, who transferred the rich commerce of the East from princely Venice to enterprising Portugal, visited the coasts of Southern Africa on his way to India, and passing that portion, the object of our present notice, upon Christmas Day, gave to it the name it has ever since borne, in honor of the nativity of the Saviour of Mankind.

A.D. 1575.

The earliest *description* of the coast and its immediate vicinage to be met with, is that of Manuel de Mesquitta Perestrello, a Portuguese Navigator, dispatched by King Sebastian in 1575 to make a marine survey, a condensed account of which will be found in Mr. Saxe Bannister's "Humane Policy," in the Appendix No. 1, but is unnecessary to insert it here, as we have more recent and better accounts.

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A.D. 1683.

The next notice is found in Hamilton's East Indies, Vol. 1, page 9 :

" I believe the first communication or commerce, either to Natal or Delagoa, with the *English* came by accident. About 1683 an English ship, the Johanna, was lost somewhere about Delagoa. The natives shewed the shipwrecked men more civility and humanity than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness ; for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very easy rates ; and assisted what they could to save part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labor and pains Their language was by signs ; and for a few glass beads, knives, scissars, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, they *hired* themselves to carry many things to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who also served them for guides towards the Cape of Good Hope, and provided eatables for their masters, all the while they were under their conduct. And, having carried them about 200 miles on their way by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, who conducted them and provided for them as the others had done, for 700 or 800 miles farther, which they travelled in 40 days, and so delivered their charge to others till they arrived at the Cape ; and some of the English falling sick on the way, they carried them in hammocks till they either recovered or died ; and out of eighty men there were but three or four who died ; but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape I have forgotten. This account I have from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile, and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water-fowl, besides manatees, or sea-cows, and crocodiles ; their woods with large trees, wild cattle, and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, for game ; also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches."

A.D. 1684.

The navigator Dampier has preserved a very interesting, and somewhat detailed description of the country and inhabitants, their manners and customs, &c., derived from his friend, Capt. Rogers, who visited it several times, which may be seen in Bannister's work before mentioned, in the Appendix I—p. VI—but for the reasons before mentioned, need not to be reprinted here.

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A.D. 1685.

In the Dessinean Collection of Manuscripts, to be found in the Public Library at Cape Town, is a German work, by one JOHAN DANIEL BUTUA, intituled—"*A true account and description of the Cape of Good Hope,*" *&c., we find the following notice of Natal;—*

Speaking of an Expedition of some colonists, who had been authorised by the Cape Government to trade with the natives in 1684, and who were the first to discover the Kafir people, he says—

"From the Gous (Cawers, *vel* Gauritz) River, they went through the Autinequa country, from thence to the Attaequas Land, and to the country of the Heykams, in which kingdom a white man had never before been seen, except some years before when some place, called *Terra de Natal,* 500 *Mylen*" (i.e. 1,500 English miles) "from the Cape of Good Hope, a wreck took place. Those of the sufferers who were furnished with fire arms, and would not surrender them, were sacrificed, those who laid them down received quarter, and were conducted by the natives with all the horrors of their heathenish customs. They were well fed, but they had nothing to cover their heads ; they were almost naked, and only covered their shame with sheep-skins. Some of them died, unable to bear the diet and exposure. Two, however, reached the Cape, who were mariners on board the wrecked vessel. They were four years on the road before they reached the Cape.

"This same Natal is said to be a fertile country, and every thing will grow there the same as in Europe.

"The East India Company would have taken possession of this fertile land years past, but seeing at the mouth of the port a reef or a sand-bank, that no Galiot without touching could get over without danger, so that a small vessel could not safely go in there."

In another manuscript of a similar date, in the same collection, called "A short account of the Terra de Natal, its harbor is thus described :—

"The River of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30° South Latitude. Its mouth is wide, and deep enough for small craft, (*barquin*) but at which is a Sand-bank, which at highest flood has not more than 10 or 12 feet water,—within this bank the water is deep. This river is the principal one on the coast of Natal, and has been frequently visited by Merchant vessels."

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A.D. 1686.

In this year the wreck of the 'Staveuisse' a Dutch Vessel, took place, an event which led to the purchase of the Natal country by the Dutch East India Company, and ou which purchase, the present right of the English, to that territory, as representatives of the Dutch Government, by conquest and cession, is *imagined* to be founded.

The following extract is from a most interesting work in course of publication in the Colony—"THE RECORDS, *or a series of Official Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, compiled, translated, and edited by* D. MOODIE, ESQ., LIEUT. R. N.," which shews, from a series of uninterrupted and authentic documents, running through a period of nearly two centuries, preserved in the Archives of the Cape Colony, the *practical* results upon the aborigines of the migration of Europeans into barbarous regions.

Extracts of Declaration of W. Knyff, in Castle of Good Hope, 24th March, 1687.

I, the undersigned, Willem Knyff, master of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, was sleeping in the cabin at the seventh glass of the middle watch, on the 16th February, 1686, having kept the first watch, and was suddenly awakened by the cabin boy. I asked why he so run in? he replied, that we were on shore; and that he had once asked the mate to get up the cable; upon which, jumping upon the deck followed by the purser, I found we were close to the breakers, and that the chief mate and boatswain were busy hauling up the cable, in order to bend it to the anchor; the other two officers standing the while on the half-deck; it was dead calm and darkish weather, and after they had hastily prepared both anchors, they were successively dropped by my orders. The ship swung to the best bower, and lay in the surf, which broke over the bows, and as far as the waist; having lain thus about two or three glasses, a fine little off-shore breeze sprung up, when the chief mate proposed to weigh the small bower—for being nearly up and down it was of no use—and to make sail. The foretopsail was loosed, but the anchor was scarcely up before it again fell calm. After lying thus awhile the best bower at last parted, when we again dropped the small bower, but it would not hold, so that the after part of the ship struck the rocks, and the ship being now stove and full of

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water I took to water and swam to land. The boat was put out when the ship struck; the purser, the surgeon's assistant, and 11 or 12 sailors, endeavoured to save themselves, but were at last upset in the surf, so that most of them were drowned.

From the wood and sails which drove on shore, a tent was erected for shelter on the beach.

Meanwhile I asked the people if they were disposed to remain on the beach, in order, as far as possible, to save the Company's property? on which with one voice they replied,—that they saw no chance of being able to do so, as the cargo was mostly knocked to pieces on the rocks, or driven to sea; and, finding this to be the case, I determined at their request, to set out with them, overland, for the Cape of Good Hope.

Setting out thus on the 19th, and having gone about three *mylen*, I found that from weakness I could not accompany them, so I returned back alone to the beach, where we had left the surgeon sick, and the gunner, Theunis Jansen, together with Jan Jasper, boatswain's mate, both wounded in the tent.

Two days after this, the boatswain, his mate, the sail-maker and three sailors came back to us, and were soon followed by all the three mates; the chief mate having tried to persuade Jan de Groete, the junior mate, to go overland to the Cape of Good Hope, with the remaining 47, which he undertook to do; but before proceeding far he also left the Cape party, and following the mates, his companions, reached us on the beach at the same time with them.

We then set about repairing our broken boat, in order to seek our way to the Cape of Good Hope by sea, and having accomplished this in about 14 days, more or less, and having loaded her with our provisions, consisting of a half anker of bread, about 25 lbs. of salt pork, and half a *legger* of fresh water, seven of us pushed off, the others remaining from choice, excepting the junior mate, who, in shoving off the boat, accidently missed the opportunity of jumping in, and not being able to get over the surf, the boat being nearly full of water, we pushed back to the shore; there we lost our compass, quadrant, provisions, and baggage.

Being now destitute of everything, and the boat being broken in pieces, we consulted how we could best support ourselves from starvation. The natives, indeed, offered us bread and cattle for sale, but we had nothing wherewith to purchase the one or the other. Nothing is esteemed there but beads and copper rings for the neck or arms. For nails, bolts, and other iron work of the wreck, we indeed got some bread and corn; but as the natives set to work themselves, and by chopping and burning fully supplied themselves with iron, we not being at first aware, that it was so much regarded, nor daring to prevent them for fear of provoking them, as they had sometimes fully 1,000 armed men,—they had everything in abundance, while we suffered from want.

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In this deplorable condition they resolved on the arduous undertaking of building a vessel out of the materials of the wreck, and of such as could be obtained of native growth. This vessel is thus described and its departure recorded:—

Their vessel being at last completed, to the length of 50 feet, and about 14 feet broad, and two masts having been rigged, they shipped some provisions of ground meal, and two or three tons of corn, 200 or 300 fowls, about 1,000 lbs. salted and smoked beef, with 20 goats, 150 pumkins, 17 half *leggers* (of which 11 were made there) of water, and all purchased for the copper and beads of the English, which also sufficed to pay the natives for their labour.

They sailed on the 17th February without chart or compass, after they had resided a year and a day at Natal, and left there four Englishmen and one Frenchman, who thought it better and more advantageous to them to remain there, than trust themselves to the uncertain waves of the sea and of fortune.

On the 18th April (1687) following, the Council at the Cape record the safe arrival of these bold adventurers. It sets forth:—

The Captain of that vessel, William Knyff, landed here in a very miserable condition on the 1st March, from Terra de Natal, in a small vessel built there by himself, three of his officers, seven of his crew; and nine shipwrecked Englishmen.... They agree in describing the natives [of that country] as very obliging, kind and hospitable, and state that some Englishmen who could speak the language had been prompted by curiosity to travel 50 *mylen* inland, where they found people who very readily presented them with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging; they found metalic ores among those natives, and the art of melting them; not indeed gold or silver, though the English say that a certain Chief named Ingoose wore a braclet which was much heavier than the copper neck rings, from which circumstance they conjectured it to be gold.

* * * * *

Having found that the vessel was about 25 tons burden, well built and sailed well, we bought her of the English for *f* 400, for after we had put a few knees, &c., into her, she will last as many years. We bought also the residue of their meat for three stivers per pound, and the corn at six guilders per muid.

A few months afterwards, viz.: in November, the company resolved to send this little vessel back, on a voyage in search of the seamen still missing. The official despatch thus gives the result of this voyage:—

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We did not long detain in inactivity the little vessel called the *Centaur*, in which the crew of the *Stavenisse* came hither last year, but dispatched her with 19 men on the 10th of November, to seek for the residue of that crew, and to examine more minutely the country of Natal. The winds and currents prevented them from reaching that place, being frequently driven, to their general astonishment, but evidently by the hand of Providence, to one and the same spot, between Punta Primera and the Bay De la Goa; where, at length, upon the 8th February, they saw approaching them in the open sea, fully two *mylen* from the land, entirely naked, and seated upon three little beams fastened together, with a sort of paddle in their hands, two sailors of the wrecked *Stavenisse*, who being asked about their shipmates, stated that full twenty of them were scattered about in the neighboring kraals. It was then resolved, as the weather was more favorable than it had been for the last twelve months, to send some one on the raft, with a few little presents to the chief of the country, to convey a request that he would allow the people to embark. To this the chief instantly consented, when nineteen, including a French boy, were collected, and, with great difficulty, embarked. Three of their shipmates were not inclined to accompany them, and three others had, not long before, set out for the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, and were already too far off to convey to them any intimation of the arrival of the *Centaur*, for the vessel could lie no longer upon a lee shore, and indeed they had scarcely embarked the two last men when a change of the weather made it high time to raise their anchor and to secure a good offing, and they were afterwards compelled to return to the Cape, where, although the men of the *Stavenisse* were naked, they arrived all well on the 9th February.

They informed us that, with the exception of the six abovementioned, the rest of the crew had been either murdered by the natives, devoured by beast of prey, or had perished of hunger and fatigue, such at least were their conjectures, for although they were acquainted with the country and the language they had been unable to learn any thing certain of the fate of their companions during all the time of their abode in that country.

The accounts which were brought to the Cape by these people of the amazing fertility and strange productions of Natal, seem to have excited the curiosity as well as the cupidity of the Council, and hence they resolved to send another vessel, the *Noord*, to make further discoveries at Natal, and along the coast to the east. The despatch of the Council, dated April 15, 1689, states:—

The commander being meantime disinclined to keep the galliot, the *Noord*, unemployed, sent her on the 19th October, well manned

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and supplied, with *full* instructions to proceed direct to Rio de la Goa, between the 25th and 26th parallel of latitude; to sound and survey it.....and to form a minute description of all the advantages offered to the company by the intervening country, either on the coast or in the interior, the character of the people, their merchandize, their animals, whether tame or wild, fruits, vegetables, minerals, and other riches; and also to recover the men still missing of the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

This vessel having reached De la Goa on the 29th December, and having

Fully completed their survey and examination, proceeded to examine the coast and bay of Natal, where they anchored on the 5th of January of this year, and found there Adrian Jans, Boatswain, and Jan Pieters, a boy, both of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*. Having surveyed that bay, they sailed on the 23rd, and on the 28th anchored abreast of the country of the Magoses, in the latitude 33° 42. where Isak Jans, formerly a sailor in the *Stavenisse* swam on board through the surf at the peril of his life, while his companion, from want of courage, remained on the beach.

These persons gave much information respecting the Natal country and the inhabitants, which at this time a-day it is not a little amusing to peruse. They state, among other marvels:—

One may travel 200 or 300 *mylen* through the country, without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked *(blood)*, and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them. Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal, a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also: care must only be taken, towards nightfall, when one cannot get any further, to put up there, and not to go on before morning. In an extent of 150 *mylen* travelled by your servants along the coast, to the depth of about 30 *mylen* inland, and through the five kingdoms, namely, the *Magoses*, *Makriggas*, the *Matimbas*, *Mapontes*, and *Emboas*, they found no standing waters, but many rivers with plenty of fish and full of sea cows. There are many dense forests, with short stemmed trees; but at the bay of Natal are two forests, each fully a *myl* square, with tall, straight, and thick trees, fit for house or ship-timber, in which is abundance of honey and wax; but no wax is to be had from the natives, as they eat the wax as well as the honey. In all the time of their stay in that country, or of travelling through it, they found but one European, an old Portuguese, in the country of the

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Mapontes; he had been shipwrecked there about 40 years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been circumcised, and had a wife, children, cattle and land, he spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything—his God included. They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumkins, watermelons and beans, much resembling the European brown beans; they sow annually a kind of earth-nut, and a kind of under-ground bean, both very nourishing, and bearing a small leaf. Tobacco grows there wild, and if they knew how to manage it, would, in all probability, be equal to the Virginian.

The true European fig grows wild, also a kind of grapes, which are a little sour *(rhyns)* though well tasted, they are best boiled: They have also a kind of tree fruit, not unlike the fatherland medlar, and not unpleasant to eat; wild pruins grow abundantly on the shore, and are well tasted. There are also wild cherries (*strand karsau*) with long stalks, and very sour. Finally, they have a kind of apple, not unpleasant eating, but which are not ripe until they fall from the tree; before they fall, they are nauseous (*walgingh)* and cause flatulency. The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers and goats—there are few sheep, but no want of elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, elands, and harts, as well of the Cape kind, as the Fatherland, with branched *(getrackte)* horns: rheboks of various kinds, wild hogs, dogs, buffaloes, sea cows, crocodiles and horses. The latter they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength; some have the tail black, and others white. They also say that they saw two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and color like the elephant; having a head like the horse, a short tail, but long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe [giraffe ?].

There are many kind of snakes, scorpions, large and small, also centipedos, toads, and frogs, ostriches, geese, ducks, pigeons, red and brown patridges, abundance of pheasants and *pauws*, with a shining top knot *(kuyf)* and tail [Balearic crane ?] In the rivers are eels and congers, and, in the bay of Natal, king's fish and sun fish, besides all kinds of fish, known in India and here, as may be further seen from the annexed account taken down from the mouths [of our men].

In a subsequent despatch, the council thus state, specifically the objects of the voyage:—

It was unanimously resolved to send the galiot *Noord* to the Bay of Natal to fetch the remaining people of the *Stavenisse*, and to

endeavor to purchase on the Company's account, under a formal and duly executed written contract with the chief of that country, the said bay, and some of the land around it, for merchandize, such as beads, copper, ironwork and such other articles as are liked by them......and that the galiot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care sound and survey the bay of De la Goa, [Algoa] to see whether it may not be suitable for the Company's homeward bound fleets......and to use the same precautions, in the saving the crew of the *Stavenisse* and purchasing that bay and the adjoining land (*aancleven*) from its chief or inhabitants which have been ordered with regard to Natal.

The instructions actually given to the officers of the *Galiot* were :—

Watching a fitting opportunity (*wel tij gekaveld hebbende*) you will enter into a negotiation with the Chief, so called Ingose, solemnly to purchase from him, for the Honourable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have a liking for, the bay of Natal and the adjoining land, and you will have a deed of conveyance *in communi et solemni ferma*, written by *Laarens van Swaauswyck*, passed before commissioned members of the ships council, and signed by the said Ingose and some of his nearest relatives, taking good care that the articles of merchandize for which the bay and adjoining land are purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guilders (*tot op negentien of twentigh duyscend guldens.*)

Having effected this, you will run down the coast, and endeavour to make the Bay De la Goa lying from 33° to 34° south latitude, and to ascertain whether, as stated by the Portuguese and laid down in their charts, there is a round sand-bank in the entrance ; you will carefully sound that bay, and have a chart of it drawn by the quartermaster Cornelis Heremans.

The result of this negotiation is thus given :—

On the 4th December (the Noord) arrived before the bay of Natal which she safely entered on the following day, and after embarking the residue of the crew of the Stavenisse *and solemnly purchasing that bay, with some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of those parts, for some merchandize, consisting of copper, arm and neck rings, and other articles, upon behalf of the honorable Company whose marks were set up in various places (der selver wapen in verscheide plaatsen opgereg)* and proper attention having been paid to everything, they sailed on the 11th Jan. following and four days after, put into the so called Bay De la Goa (Algoa). without anchoring, however, but keeping under sail ; it was no bay

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but only a bight, quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance.

This vessel was unfortunately soon afterwards wrecked not far from De la Goa (Algoa) Bay. The particulars of this catastrophe are thus narrated :—

Having on the day following the 16th, towards the afternoon, left the bight, De la Goa, with a stiff topsail breeze from the eastward, steered W. by South, and in the evening, in order to keep clear of all danger, W.S.W. after running, according to their reckoning, 14 *mylen* from the west point of De la Goa, in the 3d glass of the first watch, or between nine and ten o'clock at night, the wind as before......they run almost high and dry, on a rocky reef (Receiffe) extending about ½ *myl* from the main lane, although the mate, C. Hermans, who had charge of the watch knew the coast and was the person who had made a chart of it.

The galiot being instantly bilged by the high surf, and the hold being full of water, they managed, an hour after, when the tide was out, to save themselves by getting, dry footed, along the rocks to the shore. The next day they returned to the wreck, out of which they took some arms, ammunition, and provisions, and three days after blew her up.

They staid together, on the beach, until the 23d of January, searching about in vain in every direction for inhabitants and for food, and then determined, before the food was quite exhausted, to set out for the Cape.

They were in all 18 men, and after travelling in company for some days without a meeting a single man, they divided into two, and finally into three parties ; and at length, on the 27th of March four of them arrived here in a miserable condition, having been stripped and ill-treated by the *Cauwers* Hottentots, who live by plunder.

Every exertion has already been made for the rescue of the remaining persons of the crew, and no pains shall be spared to procure information about them, and to bring them hither. It is very surprising that nothing whatever can be heard of them in a country so close to the Cape, through which we have frequently travelled.

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition ; and upon which in a note the Couucil thus remark :

The galiot appears to have been shamefully thrown away ; had the lead been used, and other precautions been adopted, the loss would, no doubt, have been avoided. The Fiscal would have had his action on the subject, had not the master and the mate and the men saved had such a miserable journey, and had not so many of them so unfortunately lost their lives.

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A.D. 1705.

The permanent purchase thus supposed to have been effected, it seems was *denied* by the successor of the chief who alienated his patrimonial possessions.

John Maxwell in his account of the Cape of Good Hope in 1706, (published in London, in 1715), says,—

"At the Cape, I met with one Joanis Gerbrantzer, master of a Dutch ship, who 1690 was in Terra di Natal, distant from the Cape about 800 miles, where he said he bought the place for the Dutch East India Company for 20,000 florins. Coasting thence to the Cape, his ship was cast away, but they all got safe ashore, who, 18 in number, set out by land for the Cape, distant about 200 miles, where only four arrived, all the rest dying of hunger, thirst, or heat, except two or three who were killed by the Hottentots. They saw no wild beasts except elephants. *In* 1705, *Gerbrantzer went again to Natal, the late king's son then reigning, to whom he spoke of the former agreement with his father. 'My father,' answers he, 'is dead; his skins* (i. e. *his clothes*) *are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; and the place is fenced in, over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it.'* So Gerbrantzer urged it no further, having no orders concerning it from the Company."

Upon the general question of the sale of lands, by savages to European adventurers, the following pertinent remarks by Hugh Murray in his "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa," by the late Dr. Leyden, are worthy of attention. He observes, speaking of similar transactions at Sierra Leone:—

"Much more formidable obstacles presented themselves, in prevailing upon the native chiefs to *ratify* the surrender of territory which had been formerly occupied. The only property, with which the savage is acquainted, consists of the fruits of the earth, his ornaments, arms, and instruments of hunting and fishing. He changes his habitation according to convenience, and never thinks of buying or selling the earth upon which he roams at large. His own possession of territory is temporary; he cannot, therefore, believe that any cession is perpetual. He admits a colony, because he imagines it consists of his friends, or because the colonists have purchased his friendship; but as soon as he changes his opinion, or withdraws his friendship, he thinks himself completely justified in resuming that right which he abandoned without reflection."—Vol. 2, p. 260.

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A.D. 1719.

Natal about this time seems to have been commonly resorted to for the purpose of purchasing slaves, and several English vessels, some of extraordinary small tonnage, visited the coast for that nefarious purpose.

One Robert Drury, who published his adventures about this time, says:—

"*Here* we traded for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased 74 boys and girls," &c.

On the 23rd of December, of this year, orders were addressed from Holland to the Cape Government to establish factories, both at De la Goa and Natal Bays, which were carried into effect in 1721, but on the 19th of April, 1729, directions were sent out to *abandon* the latter-named place, *and it no where appears that any subsequent attempt was ever made, either to claim, re-occupy, or recognize the territory in question, on the part of the Dutch,* as a dependency.

In the interval, between these years, several interesting journies were made overland from De la Goa to Natal, and from thence to the Cape Colony, especially one by Lieut. Monas, the Commandant of De la Goa, in 1727.

A complete history of occurrences at both these settlements is to be found in the Archives of the Colonial Office at Cape Town, under the following dates:—

23d December,	1719	18th December,	1725,
5th July,	1721	12th January,	1726,
21st ,,	,,	3d July	,,
11th October,	,,	17th September,	,,
9th November	,,	26th December,	,,
6th March,	1722	31st ,,	,,
15th December,	,,	27th August,	1727,
15th June,	1723	18th October,	,,
26th January,	1724	27th ,,	,,
21st August,	,,	19th January,	1728,
22d ,,	,,	31st ,,	,,
13th December.	,,	11th August,	,,

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17th January,	1725	12th January,	1729,
29th March,	,,	14th April,	,,
13th ,,	,,	15th ,,	,,
9th July,	,,	22d October	,,
10th ,,	,,	2d May,	1731,
26th September	,,	19th ,,	,,

In 1755

The Doddington, an English East India Ship, was wrecked on one of the Bird Islands, situated near Cape Padron, in Algoa Bay, and after a seven months residence on that rocky spot, the survivors, having built a small vessel, called the "Happy Deliverance," made their escape on the 16th February, 1756. On the 15th of March they safely anchored the little craft in one of the Rivers of the Natal coast, in two and a half fathom; and on the 6th of April following they also put into the River St. Lucia, the Omvalozie of the Zoolahs. The particulars of their voyage—their intercourse with the natives —and the appearance of the country—may be seen in Bannister, Appendix I—p. xxxiii.

From this period up to 1806, several wrecks took place upon the coast.

A.D. 1782.

Amongst these melancholy events was that of the *Grosvenor* Indiaman, in 1782, but no attempts were made to settle, although the descendants, both of Europeans and Lascars, who escaped from those frightful catastrophes, are still distinctly traceable among the inhabitants up to the present day.

A.D. 1806.

The Cape Colony fell into the hands of the British government by its conquest in 1806, upon which the then Colonial Governor *surrendered* "the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope *with all its dependencies*, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian Government."* What was meant at the time by the term "depen-

* Article 1st of capitulation proposed to and accepted by Lieut. General Janssens, 18th January, 1806.

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dencies"—for except Natal and De la Goa—the Colony never held anything approaching to such a designation—does not appear, and whether the expression was a mere technicality, common to all such documents, and used, of course,—or whether it included those old and temporary settlements, relinquished seventy years before, is a point over which much ink and perhaps *some gunpowder* may yet be expended.

A.D. 1815.

Whatever the rights conveyed by the capitulation of 1806 were, they were fully and finally confirmed in 1815, at the Treaty of Paris, when the Cape Colony was for ever ceded to Great Britain, but still without any description of, or *expressed* reference to the "dependencies," in question.

A.D. 1823.

In the latter part of the year 1823, Lieut. Farewell, of the Royal Navy, and Mr. Alexander Thomson, a merchant of Cape Town, impressed with an idea that a lucrative traffic might be successfully carried on along the Eastern Coast of Africa, accompanied Lieut. King, R.N., of the *Salisbury*, on a voyage to the East coast. Having arrived in the neighbourhood where they intended to commence operations, they attempted several parts, when it appeared impossible to land. The boats were then sent on shore at St. Lucia, on the coast of Fumos; but Mr. Farewell's upset, and he, although considerably bruised, miraculously escaped being drowned. Several days after, Mr. Thomson met with a similar accident, his boat being overwhelmed when nearly a mile from the beach; they all gained the shore by swimming, except three poor fellows who perished in the attempt. The party now determined on abandoning this place, their views being directed to another quarter: several weeks having elapsed, they ran into Port Natal, but the voyage proving altogether unsuccessful, they returned to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Salisbury* and *Julia*, its tender, were the first vessels that entered that port during the life-time of the oldest inhabitants.

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A.D. 1824.

In the following year Lieut. Farewell induced a party of about twenty five persons to join him from the Cape, having conceived the idea that an establishment at Natal would supersede the commerce of the Portuguese at De la Goa Bay, and the neighboring settlements, and attract it towards his own little colony. Lieut. King, at this time, joined the intrepid adventurer, and in order to procure supplies and excite an interest in their embryo settlement, proceeded to England for the purpose. Anxious to promote the welfare of his promising settlement, Farewell now endeavored also to procure the patronage and recognition of the new colony by the Government, and he addressed the then Governor of the Cape, Lord Charles Somerset, explaining his views and prospects in the following communication.—

"Cape Town, May 1, 1824.

"My Lord,

"In consequence of your Lordship's wish, that I should communicate in writing my plans, relative to the speculation I am at present undertaking to the south-east coast of Africa, I beg leave to submit the following remarks for your perusal.

"Having felt convinced, that a trade might be established with the natives on the coast, between the Cape Frontier and Delagoa Bay, I last year went to a considerable expense in trying to form an intercourse, as well as to ascertain the capabilities of the country; but in consequence of its being a dangerous coast, and of our losing four men, drowned in attempting to land, as well as of want of provisions, after a few month's absence, we were obliged to return, without accomplishing our object; and, by chartering two vessels for the occasion, we sustained a very considerable loss.

"Towards the conclusion of my last voyage, we found a port, where a small vessel can lie perfectly secure; and I am therefore induced to venture another trial, hoping, that by making, some stay there, we may get the natives to bring their produce to exchange for our goods; which, in time, might lead to important advantages. My intentions are to keep a vessel constantly lying in port; and to have a small party on shore to communicate with the natives, and carry on the trade.

"The natives have already requested that we would come and traffic with them; and, probably, by a constant intercourse, we shall eventually lead to a commerce of importance to the colony, and advantageous to ourselves.

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" For the purposes I have mentioned, it is necessary that we should take a larger proportion of people than are required to navigate the vessel; and, consequently, we have about twenty-five persons, including principals and servants, besides her crew.

" I hope your Lordship will conceive that our present undertaking is entitled to every encouragement, being one of much hazard; and, if successful, likely to lead to important advantages to the colony in furnishing articles of export, as well as new sources of trade; and tending to civilize many populous nations hitherto unknown to Europeans. I am therefore convinced, that in case of our having to solicit you Lordship's aid on any future occasion to forward these views, we shall meet with that patronage and assistance, which your disposition to promote enterprizes beneficial to the colony will prompt.

" (Signed) F. G. FAREWELL.

" To His Excellency the Governor."

Reply to the last Letter.

" Colonial Office, May 5, 1824.

" SIR,

" I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and to acquaint you that his Excellency acquieces in your taking the persons with you to the south-east coast of Africa, whom you state to be necessary to prosecute your commercial undertaking there.

" His Excellency will hear with great satisfaction, that your endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse, and to lay the ground for civilizing the inhabitants of that part of South Africa have been successful; but his Excellency begs that you will clearly understand, that all your intercourse with the natives must be conducted in a conciliatory manner, and upon fair terms of barter; and that he *cannot sanction the acquisition of any territorial possession* without a full communication being made to him of the circumstances under which they may be offered, and be intended to be received.

" (Signed) P. G. BRINK.

" To Mr. Farewell."

Letter from Mr. Farewell to the Governor of the Cape.

" Port Natal, September, 1824.

" MY LORD,

" In consequence of your Lordship's kind wishes for the success of my undertaking to Natal, I beg leave to intrude on your Lordship a sketch of my proceedings since arriving here.

" I communicated with Chaka, king of the Zulus, to whom belongs the whole of the country from Natal to Delagoa Bay,

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extending inland, according to their account, some hundreds of miles. After some difficulty, I obtained permission to visit him, and proceeded with a small party above one hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. from Port Natal to his residence; and had the pleasure of being the first European ever there. The king received us, surrounded by a large number of his chiefs, and above 8 or 9000 armed men, observing a state and ceremony in our introduction that we little expected. His subjects, over whom he has the most despotic authority, appeared to treat him with such submission and respect as to rank him far above any chief, I believe at present known in South Africa; whilst the nations he governs are, in manners, customs, and mode of ornamenting themselves so different from any hitherto known as at once to astonish and please us.

"I had an opportunity of holding frequent interviews with the king, who seemed particularly pleased at hearing my intention in coming to Natal was to remain there, making me a sale and grant of part of his country in that neighbourhood, of which I beg leave to forward your Lordship a copy through my agent, Mr. J. R. Thomson. He at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He likewise expressed a wish to send two of his chiefs to the Cape, for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation, which I have to request your Lordship's permission for doing. We had an opportunity of further gaining his friendship, by curing him of a dangerous wound he received since we have been here; and I trust I shall, by frequent communications, and a studious endeavour to avoid giving offence, increase his and his subjects' confidence in us.

"The territory he has made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred souls, who appear much pleased at the manner of its disposal, of which they have been informed by Chaka. The climate seems perfectly healthy, with a good soil fit for any purposes, and well wooded and watered, four rivers of magnitude running through it into the sea; which, from their depth and width, seem to derive their sources from a considerable distance inland, and to afford the means of communicating there by water. The portion granted me affords every prospect of being a most desirable one for settlers, of whom a few families could protect themselves if necessary; and support could be derived for any number, the rivers abounding in fish, and cattle being to be had at a very moderate rate.

"I beg leave, therefore, to suggest to your Lordship, that many of that class at the Cape, particularly agriculturists, who appear to be living in great distress, would here find a comfortable asylum, and the means of much benefiting themselves and families, as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilising, and establishing a trade with the interior of South Africa;

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which amongst other benefits to be expected from it, will eventually occasion a large consumption of English staple manufactures. It possesses a port, the only one on the coast, where vessels drawing nine feet water can at all times enter, and be as secure as in a wet dock; whilst those of a greater draught are protected from a westerly wind by a point that projects out some distance, forming a bay, in which there is good anchorage outside the bar. The distance from the Cowie is so small, that a vessel after discharging her cargo there, at a very trifling expense would land passengers at Natal.

"I took possession of the country, made over according to the tenor of the document forwarded to your Lordship, on the 27th of August, and hoisted the English colours, and fired a salute in presence of a number of Chaka's chiefs; which proceeding, I trust, will meet with your Lordship's approbation and sanction, as well as those of the English government.

"Your Lordship is already informed, that commercial pursuits, and a wish to obtain a knowledge of this country, were my objects in coming here; and the benefit to be derived from my present grant of land, with the power of keeping the little trade that at present exists, in my own hands, I look to as the means of reimbursing the great expences I have been at. I trust your Lordship will see the propriety of my being invested with some authority over persons residing here; as without it, it will be impossible to prevent irregularities and disturbances amongst themselves as well as the natives; which would not fail to be attended with fatal consequences.

"(Signed) F. G. Farewell.

"To His Excellency the Governor."

A.D. 1824

Farewell's party of settlers finding the country about Natal in every direction completely depopulated, and the Zoola sovereign Chaka, so absorbed in his warlike and predatory expeditions, and abandoned to a thirst of universal conquest as to be careless of trade, soon became disappointed, and a schism took place between them, which ended in their separation, and the abandonment of the place by all but Farewell. Expecting to be able to convince Chaka of the advantages of commerce, and to establish a trade with the western tribes, he dispatched several missions in that direction, but the quarrels in which he had been engaged with his associates had a very serious influence on his enterprise, especially with Chaka,

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whose shrewdness enabled him to take advantage of the absurd, but very natural differences among the European party, which being composed of heterogenous materials and impatient of all control, carried with it the seed of its own dissolution.

The history of the tribes found by Farewell and his party in possession of the country of and around Natal, derived from Mr. H. Fynn, has been thus given by Major Charters, and can be depended upon :—

In the year 1780 a chief of the name of Tingeswio ruled over the Umtetwa tribe, and inhabited the country to the eastward of the Toghela River. He is represented as intelligent, warlike, and enlightened, far beyond what might have been expected from a barbarian. He opened a trade with the Portuguese, bartering ivory and oxen for beads and brass. He divided his army into regiments according to the color of their shields; and he subjugated all the neighboring tribes, and amongst these the Zulus, then under the chieftainship of Senzengakona, and not exceeding 2000 people. One of the women belonging to the last-mentioned chief gave birth to a son, named Chaka, who, as he grew up, shewed himself possessed of such energy of character and such warlike qualities, that Tingeswio took him under his protection, instructed him in the art of war, and gave him a command in his army. On the death of Senzengakona, Umfugas, the legal heir, succeeded to his authority; but his reign was brief, for he was soon assassinated by Chaka, who, not having sufficient scope for his ambition in the command of a small tribe, found means to alienate the army from their allegiance to his benefastor, Tingeswio, whom he attacked, made prisoner, and put to death. Chaka then possessed himself of supreme authority over all the tribes which had owed allegiance to Tingeswio, and united them into one nation, under the name of Zulus. As soon as the chief found himself firmly seated in his authority; he bestowed his whole care in disciplining his army; he substituted the short, stabbing assegai for the long missile weapon used by the other Kafirs, by which means he entirely changed the mode of warfare, causing his men to close immediately with their foes, and fight them hand to hand.

He carried his victorious arms west as far as St. John's River, and east to De la Goa Bay, putting to death all whom he could overtake, and driving the fugitives to seek for refuge, and food in distant lands, leaving the countries which he passed over a solitude and waste. Chaka may be termed the South African Attila: and it is estimated that not less than 1,000,000 human beings were destroyed by him.

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A.D. 1825.

The character of the Chief of the Zoolahs, (or Zulus) and the extent of his conquests, has also been described by Farewell himself:—

"History perhaps does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his word; he is acknowledged to be the most powerful ruler for many hundred miles. He came to the throne after the death of his father; his elder brother should have succeeded him, but through some treachery on his part he got him put to death, and it therefore devolved upon Chaka. He has reigned about eight years, during which time he has conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Amapondos, nearly 200 miles S.W. of Natal, and the southern and most western parts of Delagoa. He has under him many tributary kings, and the only powerful enemy he has now to contend with is Esconyana, whose territories lie N.W. of the Mapoota; he has gathered all his forces, with an intention of destroying Chaka. Several attempts have been made, but have always been repulsed. The Zulus are now preparing for an advance upon them, and but little doubt is entertained that they will succeed, although the enemy exceeds them by many thousands. Chaka's strict discipline and method of attack is such that nothing in their warfare can possibly withstand the attack of the Zulus His warriors in their war-dress are similar to his own; he differs only in his feather, and they are distinguished in the different divisions by colored shields; they charge with a single *umconto*, or spear, and each man must return with it from the field, or bring that of his enemy, otherwise he is sure to be put to death."

While Farewell was making these efforts to establish himself at Natal, Capt. King completed his voyage to England, laid before the Admiralty his plan of the harbor, and on his return, rejoined his old companion. In doing this he lost his vessel, the *Mary*, at the entrance of the port, and after combating every kind of privation, inseparable to the situation of a voluntary exile beyond the pale of civilization, he sunk under the ravages of disappointment, fatigue, and want of proper nourishment in 1828. The grave of this gallant officer is still to be seen on the southern point of the bay.

A.D. 1826.

Out of wreck of the *Mary* the colonists of Natal construct-

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ed a small vessel, which they named "*The Chaka,*" in honor of the monster reigning at Natal. This vessel succeeded in reaching Algoa Bay, but was seized and refused a Register, after every exertion being made, on the ground that she was *built in a* FOREIGN PORT—thus at once repudiating the claim over that place as a *dependency* of the Cape,—a view which has been steadily kept up by the home government all along, and by the Colonial authorities, to within a few weeks of the present time. The Custom's Officers have always levied the *foreign* duty of 10 per cent. upon produce from Natal, and it is only now admitted at the British rate by a recent order of the governor's.

A.D. 1828.

Chaka at this time became anxious to open a political connexion with the Cape and the English Governments, and for this purpose dispatched, along with Lieut. King, two ambasadors, to represent his wants and express his desire of friendship, one of whom was commissioned to proceed to the King of England. From causes, over which much uncertainty prevails, these people were not allowed to proceed beyond Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay—a place at that time, from its infant state, and the absence of all military pomp and parade, not at all calculated to inspire the savage envoys with that opinion of our power with which it could have been advisable to impress them. They were soon shipped on board the *Helicon* to their native shores, indignant at their discourteous treatment, and harboring feelings of no great good will to the Colony or its Representative, who had brought them down, and to whom Chaka had granted previous to his sailing the territory of Natal:—but why and in what way Farewell's previous grant had been vitiated or recalled does not appear. King's grant is dated February 1828, and its authenticity sworn before a Colonial magistrate in July 1828. The following is a copy of the document:—

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At Chaka's principal Residence, Umbololi,
February, 1828.

I, Chaka, King of the Zulus, do, in presence of my principal Chiefs now assembled, hereby appoint and direct my friend, James Saunders King, whom I now create Chief of the "Tugoosa Kraal," to take under his charge and protection, "Sotoby," one of my principal Chiefs—"Karchey," my body servant—"Jacob," my interpreter and suite: I desire him to convey them to His Majesty, King George's Dominions, to represent that I send them on a friendly mission to King Geerge, and, after offering him assurances of my friendship and esteem, to negociate with His Britannic Majesty on my behalf, with my Chief "Sotoby," a treaty of friendly alliance between the two nations, having given the said J. S. King and Sotoby, full instructions, and invested them with full power to act for me, in every way as circumstances may seem to them most beneficial and expedient. I require my friend King to pay every attention to the comforts of my people entrusted to his care, and solemnly enjoin him to return with them to me in safety, and to report to me faithfully such accounts as they may receive from King George.

I hereby grant him, my said friend J. S. King, in consideration of the confidence I repose in him, of various services he has already rendered me—presents he has made, and above all the obligations I am under to him for his attention to my mother in her last illness, as well as having saved the lives of several of my principal people, the free and full possession of my country near the sea coast and Port Natal, from Natal Head to the Stinkein River, including the extensive Grazing Flats and Forests, with the Islands in the Natal harbour, and the Matterban Nations, together with the free and exclusive trade of all my dominions; and I hereby also confirm all my former grants to him.

his
JOHN X JACOB.
mark.

Witness the above scrawl having been made by King Chaka as his signature. (Signed) N. J. ISAACS.

Sworn before H. Hudson Esq., Resident Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, July 29th, 1828, by Nathaniel Isaacs and John Jacobs the Interpreter as a true document, and signed in their presence.

Quod Attestor,

JOHN ANTY. CHABAUD, Notary Public.

A.D. 1829.

In 1829 Mr. Saxe Bannister, the late Attorney General of New South Wales, felt induced to join Lieut. Farewell's speculation and settlement, and in the month of May, of that year,

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he addressed the following summary view of himself and coadjutor, to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies:

"Cape Town, May 12, 1829.

"Sir,

"I beg leave in recommendation of the proposals, to add a few remarks upon the 'advantages,' which in the printed papers already presented to you, we allege 'may be gained to Great Britain, by establishing civil government at Natal;' and as a copy of this letter has been presented to His Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, I venture to anticpate that these few details will be received as a solid basis, unless shewn to be incorrectly stated.

"'(*a*) A gradual increase of trade,'

"In the experience of the colony, surpassing all anticipation as it has done on some points, we possess the best materials for encouraging hopes of the future interior trade. It is not contended, that it will be as lucrative as that of rich countries; but it will reward industrious men; and assist surely, although slowly, to improve the natives: and that the more effectually, when our productions are brought under their daily notice. Two articles, ivory and the produce of cattle, have been selected as illustrations of the point, that trade will increase considerably by our coming into more intimate communication with the people of South-eastern Africa. Elephants abound in the country; and all the tribes have herds of cattle. So that the following short tables of Cape exports may be expected to indicate what can be done at Natal. They are examples only of what further details shew more fully.

"As to ivory exported:—

"In 1799, 1481 lbs.; 1800, 1500 lbs.; 1801, 1500 lbs.; 1802, 1500 lbs.

"At this rate Mr. Barrow held that the export of ivory would remain; and it did remain much so, until a little freedom of intercourse with the natives was allowed of late years That opening raised it to the following amount, which would be exceeded at Natal for a considerable time to come.

"In 1818, 3815 lbs.; 1819, 1910 lbs.; 1820, 8870 lbs.; 1821, 4538 lbs.; 1822, 24,420 lbs.; 1823, 19,885 lbs.; 1824, 20,661 lbs; 1825, 106,778 lbs.; 1826, 48,258 lbs.; 1827, 38,140 lbs.; 1828, 21,413 lbs.

"As to the produce of herds of cattle:—

"In 1828, the exports at Algoa Bay, from cattle, were as follows:—Butter, £8114; cheese, £125; candles, £211; tallow, £1734; salted beef, £6415; hides, £12,804; leather, £772; horns, £1914;—Total, £32,089 Custom-house valuation.

"In 1802, and until 1817, the yearly exports of hides from the whole colony did not, I think, exceed the average value of £1500;

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and of another article now considerable, horns, all seem to have been then wasted.

"Of these articles, much of the horns and hides comes from the recent opening with the Caffres; and the kindred tribes near Natal would very soon gladly sell those raw materials in great quantities. At no distant day they would adopt our more agreeable and cheaper clothing for the hides they now wear; and which they are learning to prepare better for the market. The other articles would speedily follow as the people perceived the advantage of selling what they now eat needlessly; and as they gradually knew how to convert part of their milk, fat, and meat, into saleable articles. Besides these immediate subjects of trade, others to the number of 29, are sold by the frontier Caffres at the Keiskamma; who, although less industrious then those to the eastward, may soon lessen the cost of provisioning the troops stationed there. They now bring in much grain: and possessing between 3 and 400,000 head of cattle, they will one day, if we act towards them with ordinary prudence, produce butter, beef, tallow, and similar commodities for the colonial market, consuming in return proportionate quantities of manufactures. That they have a strong appreciation of the value of property is proved by what occurred after opening the new fair. It being feared they might be too easily tempted to part with their cattle, and when stripped, resort to plundering us, the cattle trade was prohibited. At length the government allowed it, and well-informed persons anticipated a safe, steady supply from them of at least 1,500 yearly. The actual sales, however, for 1828, at twelve fairs were 78 head. We have much yet to learn of the customs and principles of these people, whom we unjustly call savages.

"To these remarks, it may be added, that the mercantile body at Cape Town have declared their opinion, annexed to this letter, that a settlement at Natal, protected by his Majesty's Government, will promote the commercial interests of the colony.

"'(*b*) Protection for the interior traders

"'(*c*) Furnishing some means of checking the occasional misconduct of the traders.'

"If the former of these two heads has hitherto little needed attention, it arises from the respect white men always gain from the coloured people, until revenge is instigated by the injuries we inflict; and the kindness with which at first we are uniformly received, should furnish a motive for our seeking suitable guards against the frequent occurrence of the latter evil. Neglect of this matter will unquestionably, ere long, be a serious obstacle to all exertions for civilising South Africa. For a century past, the Cape government has known little of its white vagrants; and consequently it has controlled them too little. The old errors in this respect are very far from being yet sufficiently amended. After, also, properly yielding to experience in favor of a system of intercourse with our

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neighbours, refused rigidly until 1823, it has not yet followed up the natural abuse of the wise newly adopted principles. It is understood, that at this moment, hawkers, pretending to be licensed, and others, carry on the kidnapping of black people and a modified slave trade on the north-eastern frontier; bringing the craft of civilization without its restraint amongst our feeble neighbours. We are thus plainly committing a breach of public law by not accompanying our advance with its available checks; in which case, enterprising men, whom we cannot keep back, would promote order instead of retarding its progress. Upon the present inefficient system, it is not surprising, that the natives, amongst whom they go without law, should inquire—'What sort of government is that, which will not avenge the wrongs committed by its own subjects?' and that they do often ask such a question, I learn from a letter written in this year to myself, by a person of credit living in that country.

"'(*d*) A better way to the interior than any now known.'

"The healthiness of the spot gives Natal a great superiority over Delagoa Bay; and it is believed not to be cut off by the parched Karoos from the populous tribes known to be between Lattakoo and the eastern ocean. Protection on the coast would invite travellers to a new field at Natal, and to a boundless unknown region beyond. In order to reach the same countries from the Cape, they, and their attendants of every description, are now exhausted before they find the nearest objects deserving examination: but what of it was familiar to Europeans a century ago, under circumstances altogether unfavorable for reasearch, (except at the Dutch factory in 1720,) promises advantages to our more advanced science and philanthropic views at an easy cost.

"'(*e*) A means of civilizing the natives near the Cape of Good Hope and in the interior.

"'(*f*) Support to missions at Lattakoo, on the Vaal river, in Depa's country, and at the back of Caffreland.'

"The convenience of access from Natal to these spots, already supplied by the Moravian, Wesleyan, and London society's missionaries, is obvious from a glance at the map; and right principles once established on our part, the numerous intervening tribes will generally promote that peaceful intercourse which is so useful to all parties. They who are familiar with no more persuasive and lasting means of influence over the less civilized than main force, know little of the power of quietly appealing to their interests and good feelings. With the support of suitable defences against occasional violence on all sides, gentle proceedings so directed will produce effects amongst the Africans, of which the rapidity and value can only be estimated by those who have carefully weighed the obstacles in the way of exertions already made for civilising them; as well as the greater obstacles which have impeded them in their own

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struggles to become civilised. The establishment contemplated aims at diminishing the power of both these kinds of obstacles. The following note, from a judicious Wesleyan missionary now in Caffreland, is valuable as containing the testimony of practical and cautious persons in its favour: 'Our late district meeting has strongly recommended the Wesleyan missionary committee to enable us to commence missions with the Amapondas under Faku, and with the Zulus near Port Natal: even without a settlement at Natal, we think the way is open for this extension of the missions; but should your plan of forming a settlement there take effect, the reason for commencing missions in that part, as well as for their probably permanency and success, will be increased a thousand fold.

"'(*g*) Lessening the expense of defending the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope.

"'(*h*) Cheap additional security to British interests in South Africa.'

"The principal advantages Natal offers on these heads, are its capabilities for promoting all measures directed to civilizing the natives, and so rendering peace with them less insecure; and, consequently, military establishments less needed. If means of civilizing them be not more distinctly sought than it is now, military expenses must increase. The Caffres between Natal and the colony must either be improved, or be destroyed; and although the latter alternative will never be willingly sought by the British government, I submit, that our proceedings are, against our will, substantially the same as those hertofore practised in all European settlements, and must slowly destroy our victims. In the mean time, we are exposed to many dangerous contingencies, since, against people in their state, who cannot calculate accurately their disadvantages in contests, their oppressors are never safe, although they themselves at last gain nothing by resistance.

"But if we would wisely resolve to improve them, as we might do with little cost, and not without an early return, such establishments as that proposed for Natal would be of the first importance. The chief officers would be devoted to studying their domestic polity, the character of their leaders, the true interests of the people, and their mutual relations. They would also acquire an accurate knowledge of their established laws, and how to accommodate them the most usefully to their own; and so facilitate the execution of justice between us—a main point which is almost universally missed. It is a great error to suppose them destitute of fixed rules of law, strictly so called, because they possess no statute book or written digest: they have at least a sufficiently clear acquaintance with the principles of justice to see the inconsistency and injustice of our course towards them.

"We shall thus be better able to guard against those unhappy

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violences, which must sometimes be looked for with every care; and still better to calculate the effect of the various measures necessary for advancing their civil condition. By an enlightened conduct, influence would be gained over the minds of the natives, through their just hopes of a better state being the consequence of exertions, in which they would speedily take an active part. When the supreme government was seen to be heartily engaged in the same cause, although in different modes, the independent labours of the missionaries would proceed with greatly increased effect; and there is no vice in the present situation of the natives which would not be steadily corrected.

"'(i) Securing aid to distressed ships'

"The known wrecks on the east coast have not been very numerous. In the present year, however, the survivors of the crew of the French, ship, the *Eole*, lost near the Bashie, seem to owe their safety to traders and missionaries having now access to Caffreland. Memorials are preserved relative to the various fate of the crews of eleven others wrecked east of the Fish River; and to many, as to the *Grosvenor's*, a settlement at Natal, holding a friendly intercourse with all the neighbouring tribes, would have been a refuge from their melancholy end. The coasting trade, too, being extended, would increase employment for hardy seamen.

"In regard to the last point noticed in the printed paper, that if we are obliged to abandon the settlement for want of support, it will be open to any foreign power, *I submit the law to be clear. It is no part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies.* After obtaining a right to Southern Africa by discovery, the Portuguese abandoned the whole, except from Mozambique downwards to Inhambane, which was their extreme post to the south in 1720. The Dutch had before occupied the abandoned Cape and a few miles beyond it; and passing the intervening coasts, settled Delagoa Bay and Natal in 1720. They also abandoned both those points in 1731; soon after which the Portuguese re-occupied as far as Delagoa Bay from Inhambane: the space of coast from Delagoa Bay to the eastern limits of the Cape colony never being again possessed by Europeans until 1824. Mr. Farewell's acquisition from Chaka then vested the sovereignty in his Majesty, unconnectedly in title with the Cape, although communication was made to his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset, as the nearest authority to whom it would probably be subjected, and with whom communication was had for other purposes, as in regard to obtaining passes for men. There seems to be no doubt that a foreign power in possession of Natal, and in connexion with Mozambique or Bourbon, might obtain great influence over the tribes, and prove a troublesome enemy in support of a disaffected population within the colony in a future war. Upon all the foregoing accounts, we now trust, this acquisition (not rejected by Lord

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Charles Somerset, when notified pursuant to his request) will be adopted by his Majesty, and that our special interest in it will be recognised.

"It is not proposed to enter into any extensive plan of colonisation, *or to take a single settler from Europe;* although, if the plan which is proposed succeeds, a new opening will be afforded to such settlers. Not more than six principal white officers, civil and military, would be required for the first three years; most of whom the Cape might supply from the inhabitants generally, as it could the soldiers, mechanics, and labourers, from the civilized Hottentots, now resident within or near the colonial boundaries. The annual expense contemplated would be £5000 sterling; the distribution of which is set out in a paper accompanying the correspondence. Another paper contains the calculation of the articles which would be required at the charge of the public during those three years. It is conceived that at the end of three years it would appear whether the local expenses could be borne by the people in any degree; and whether circumstances would either justify the extension of the contemplated exertions, or afford a reasonable prospect that the effects of what might be already done, would at least be so permanently useful as not to call for the abandonment of the original limited enterprise.

"I take the liberty of adding that my brother will soon be in possession of many further details upon all the foregoing points; and I trust that these views will appear to be practical, and calculated to have so important a bearing upon the great object of African improvement, that an establishment, such as that contemplated in the printed paper, may be thought desirable to be founded at Natal in order to promote them.

"The obstacles to civilising Africa are not small; but his Majesty has great means for success at command, not yet, I may be permitted to say, enough tried; as,—justice;—the due distiibution of the land;—the native trade;—support of the well-disposed white inhabitants—and advancement of the well-disposed natives;—political intercourse with the chiefs;—and education of the people;—upon which topics, we are prepared to shew how the present practice may be essentially improved, without any interference with the established principles of British government.

"S. Bannister.

"To the Secretary of State, &c. &c."

The reply to this communication from the Secretary of State was, that—

"His Majesty's government do not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting these suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense, and other inconveniences, which

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must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal."

The decided opinion expressed by this *legal* authority—the *ci devant* Attorney General of New South Wales—that "*I submit the law to be clear. It* (Natal) *is no part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies,*" and the ground on which that opinion is come to is assuredly deserving of some consideration in our relations with that place.

On Mr. Bannister's proposition the following judicious remarks were made by the Editor of *The Graham's Town Journal,* on the 3rd of August, 1832, and re-printed, with some additions, in his work, "*A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope,*" 1834-35,—page 163 *et seq.*

The question of the occupation of Port Natal may elsewhere be matter of unprofitable speculation; but it must ever be deeply interesting to the inhabitants of the frontier of this colony, whose quiet is even now subject to daily interruptions from the frequent alarms so often communicated to the border tribes by every movement of the Zoolas, and whose property would depend upon the frailest of tenures, should Port Natal, the only vulnerable point on the coast, be occupied by any rival power. Should we, unfortunately, be anticipated in the occupation of this port the consequences would be equally injurious and inevitable. Our present lucrative and daily extending trade would be annihilated at a word; a wide field of profitable emigration and a most promising vent for English manufactures, would be closed and pre-occupied; all future prospects, dependant upon the spread of civilization in the interior, would be at an end; and the possession of Port Natal would, with a few hundred fire arms, have the power of propelling the whole population of Kafirland upon our frontier, and at some future day, by superadding the advantage of dicipline to the overwhelming numbers of the native tribes—the English interests of the Cape of Good Hope might be circumscribed by the lines of Cape Town. The only proposal to settle Natal which has been submitted to government as far as we know was that of Mr. B. and whatever may have been the general merits of his scheme it was at least novel, experimental, and not very easy to be comprehended; it embraced no proposal of emigration, and it demanded a full recognition of his and Mr. Farewell's special interests in all the country around Port Natal. Mr. B. wished to relieve the Cape government of legislating for his new settlement, and although he shews that the territory

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was purchased by the former government of the Cape, and consequently was one of the dependencies subsequently ceded to England by treaty—although he shews that Mr. Farewell took possession of Port Natal under the authority of the government of the Cape, from whom he requested a monopoly of the trade, and even some magisterial appointment at Natal—yet Mr. B. considers the acquisition of Mr. F. to have vested the sovereignty in his Majesty, " unconnectedly in title with the Cape, an opinion which can only be accounted for when it is remembered that it was expressed by him in the capacity of an advocate of *special* interests.

To Mr. Bannister's proposal the governor of the colony, Sir G. L. Cole, stated that he could not see the advantages of his proposal, but that he should express no opinion against it unless called upon. The answer of the Secretary of State was much to the same tenor; it stated that His Majesty's government could not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting his suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense and other inconveniences which must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal.

These replies may be accounted for naturally enough, when it is remembered that " the public advantages held out by Mr B's. proposal were rather speculative and remote than immediate and practical.

It is indeed difficult to perceive how the colonial and the home governments could do otherwise than they have done; but it by no means follows that government will shew an equal disregard of any more practical scheme of occupying Natal, provided the interests of the public appear to require it, and that it is not again proposed to permit these to be superseded by the special interests of individuals.

The occupation of Natal appears equally demanded for the purposes of trade—of colonization—and of prevention—any one of which is important enough to justify the measure in a national point of view; and we must infer a most improbable degree of supineness and indifference to the public good in the councils of the King before we can imagine that all these considerations united are not strong enough to induce His Majesty's government to take formal possession of Natal, *before it be too late.*

So far the *Graham's Town Journal,* to which is added in the *Narrative:*—

To this powerful argument we shall only add, that perhaps it is not easy to form an idea of any country which hold out a fairer prospect of success for the formation of a new settlement than Port Natal. The country around the harbour, and for two hundred miles westward towards the colony to a considerable depth inland,

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is uninhabited except by a few scattered individuals, the wrecks of the tribes exterminated by the desolating wars of the Zoola chiefs. The climate is of the most salubrious character, whilst the fertility of the soil is spoken of in terms of unqualified commendation. On this point a communication from a trader residing there states—"I have now been here a sufficient time to form an opinion of every season of the year, and can assure you that it is raised a hundred fold higher than at first. The wheat I sowed is now ripe, heavy in the ear, and free from rust, although sown so late as the 18th Oct. (1831). I have about five acres of Indian corn, as thick as oats—not less than 20 muids, (60 bushels) per acre. My people, for I have two villages, already have at least 500 muids. The Indian corn ripened in ten weeks, and the same land is cropping again. All kinds of vegetables have done remarkably well, pumpkins grow wild upon the old kraals, and are much more prolific than in the colony, even with the most careful cultivation. The growth of the grass is so rapid that what was burned in September and October is now eight feet high. I have been twice inland by two different routs, nearly north. All the country in these directions is superior to the coast for cultivation. At the distance of 80 miles you reach the first range of mountains, which are clothed with forests of pure timber from 60 to 80 feet high; no underwood from the base of the hill to the summit, and a very good road for wagons." The depopulated country towards the colony is described by all who have travelled it, in the same terms of admiration. The ill-fated, but amiable and enterprising travellers, Messrs. COWIE and GREEN, who passed through it on their route to De la Goa bay, in the early part of 1829, left memoranda, which represent it as beautiful beyond description, especially near the sea The meadows are said to be carpetted with the most luxuriant herbage, and watered every few hundred yards by copious rivulets whose banks are level with the priaries through which they meander—the rivers swarming with fish and hippopotami; the plains and hills in some parts covered with woods of gigantic forest trees, whose recesses are alive with elephants; and the vegetation, where observed, consisting of the sweet cane, millet and maize, rich beyond all that the travellers had noticed in the most favored parts of the Cape Colony. A very few miles to the eastward of the Umzimvoobo, a spot is described as the scene of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*; and a remarkable hill, which the travellers named Mount George in Windsor Forest, is mentioned as the great height which stopped the progress of Van Reenen's wagons, when in search of the crew of that vessel in 1790. Amidst all these natural beauties, the travellers proceeded for thirty-five days along the coast without falling in with any natives. Dr. A. Smith, who crossed this tract in 1832, speaks of it in similar terms of admiration, and observes that it is intersected by no less than one hundred and twenty rivers.

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The atrocities of Chaka, which had become unendurable, and the ambition of his brother, at length produced the destruction of that sanguinary chief. During a conversation with his council Dingaan treacherously stabbed him in the back, and was almost immediately afterwards proclaimed his successor, to run through a career even more deeply stained with human blood than that which had preceded it.

In the month of July the enterprising Farewell left Graham's Town with Messrs. Thackwray, Sen. and Walker, and about thirty Hottentots, with the intention of returning to his settlement at the port. Having reached the missionary station of Mr. Shepstone, in the chief Faku's country, without any impediment, and rested a short time from their fatigue, they resumed their journey. Shortly after they fell in with John Cane, late Ambassador from Chaka, who was on his way to the Colony, with a fine elephant's tooth, as a present to the Governor from the brother and successor to Chaka. Being desirous of company, Cane signified his intention of proceeding to Mr. Shepstone's station, to place the tooth in his care, and return with the party to Natal. With this view he hastened off in hopes of accomplishing his object. In the mean time, a chief, named Queto, and who was captain under Chaka, hearing of the approach of the travellers, dispatched a deputation, with two bullocks as a peace-offering, with an earnest request that they would sojourn with him during their stay in his territory. This invitation was accepted; and the unsuspected travellers were greeted with every demonstration of welcome, and the chief, as a color to his sincerity, provided a plentiful repast for his weary guests. Confident of their safety, the strangers retired to their tent; and at the hour of midnight, while wrapt in sleep, the treacherous Queto rose upon his unoffending guests and basely murdered Farewell, Thackwray, Walker, and two Hottentots. The motive alleged for this outrage was, that the party on its arrival at the residence of the Zoola chief Dingaan would most likely be employed in some attaak upon this chief. Queto some time after was destroyed at the Omzimvooboo River.

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A.D. 1830—1832.

Subsequent to the massacre of Farewell and his party Port Natal was visited by several British traders from the Colony, amongst whom may be especially mentioned the Messrs. Cawood's and Collis. The former proceeded thither in 1832, and, in the course of a few months, collected produce, chiefly ivory, worth £2,000 sterling, with which they returned in safety to the Colony. Mr. James Collis preceded the Cawood's several months, and had, at the period of their arrival, made considerable progress towards fixing himself firmly on the spot. He afterwards visited the Colony, giving the most flattering description of his adopted country, in respect of its fertility, the friendly disposition of the natives and the capabilities of the place for colonization and trade. In March, 1834, he again departed from Graham's Town with twelve wagons, heavily laden with necessaries and merchandize, and carried on a successful speculation. On the 24th of the following September, however, this zealous pioneer of civilization, who was most generally esteemed by every one of a numerous acquaintance of his brother settlers of 1820 was destroyed by an explosion, occasioned by incautiously snapping the lock of a musket over a barrel of powder in his store, by which several persons were at the same time killed along with himself.

A.D. 1832.

The little settlement now proceeded with chequered fortunes. In 1832, in consequence of some alarming reports of treacherous intentions on the part of Dingaan, raised by a chief named Jacob, the settlers considered it prudent for a time to abandon the neighbourhood of the port, upon which Mr. Fynn, who had originally been one of the party of Farewell, and others were pursued and robbed of their cattle. Shortly after their return they demanded the restitution of their property, which Dingaan would only promise upon the condition that seven chiefs, who had taken refuge from his cruelties with the English, should be destroyed. This was, of course, refused and the chiefs apprised of their danger, when they prudently fled.

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A.D. 1833.

In the following year (1833) Dingaan's troops, returning from a marauding expedition against the noted freebooter N'Capai, fell in with and attacked some Hottentots with their wagons. The news of this event, probably exaggerated, reached Natal, and the settlers suspicious that this was the earnest of further hostilities, in consequenee of the flight of the seven chiefs, fired upon the forces as they passed the port. Upon this Dingaan ordered all his people to remove to the north-east of the Tugola River, which movement indicating warlike views, the settlers again fled and sat down west of the Omzimvooboo River; but, after a few months Dingaan invited them back, apologizing for the attack upon the Hottentots as unintended: Jacob, the author of these misunderstandings, and several other chiefs, he punished with death.

The extreme droughts, frequently experienced along the northern frontier of the Colony, had induced, for many years before, a number of the Dutch farmers to cross the Great or Orange River from time to time with their cattle in search of pasture, and as the country in that direction was but sparely occupied, and that chiefly by Griquas, *intruders like themselves*, several of them at last, following the Griquas example, settled down altogether. In the early part of 1832 Captain Stockenstrom estimated their numbers at about 200 families, in all somewhat more than 1,000 souls, who had fixed their abode along the Kraai River and the south branch of the Gariep. These people, according to his statement to the authorities, at that time cherished no ideas of an independent government, —they visited the Colony to pay taxes, and to participate in the rites and consolations of religion. They were so anxious for their recognition as subjects that, on a visit to Captain Stockenstrom, a short time previous, they expressed *disappointment* he had not come to fix some political agent in the shape of a Landdrost or Civil Commissioner amongst them. Captain Stockenstrom expressed himself on this subject with great justice and good sense, that—

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"Such emigration from the Colony could not be repressed by the Government, but it was their duty to follow the emigrants with colonial laws, for it would prevent the evils which men thrown out of a state of society would have recourse to, if unacknowledged as citizens. The commando system, with all its evils was, no doubt, less ferocious under the superintendence of Government, than had it been the unrestrained efforts of men forcibly thrown into a state of nature to repress the aggressions of savages upon their means of subsistence and life itself."

The effect of the intrusion of the boers *at this time,* into that country, was also then defended by the same authority—

"The black native tribes, Bechuanas and others, *rejoice* on the *encroachment, as it is termed,* of the Boers, for they are supported by it. The Corunnas, a pure Hottentot race, addicted to plunder; and the Griquas, with most of the vices of both the civilized and savage state, deny the evil of these *encroachments. Should war ensue, the Boers are fully equal to compete with the Griquas.* If we cast off these Boers we shall lose revenue—allow them to be deprived of religious aid and instruction *and if they destroy the natives it will be our own fault.*"

A.D. 1834.

In 1834, a missionary of the name of Kolbe, made an official representation that there were, at that time, removed across the northern boundary 1120 families, who had in their possession 200 slaves. This representation, the accuracy of what was doubted and laid to the credit of extreme credulity in the gentleman who communicated the intelligence, and had besides, received a positive contradiction by affidavit, from a late slave of one of the emigrants, was, however, with praiseworthy zeal followed up by the Cape Government. Captain Armstrong of the Cape Corps, was commissioned to take a force and *seize* the slaves, whose abduction was thus denounced; but it appears from the printed papers on this subject from the officer employed on the expedition, from Lt.-Col. Somerset, the Commandant of Kaffraria, and from Captain Campbell, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, that only 14 slaves had been taken away, that *they* went with their own consent; that 10 of these belonged to one individual, and that

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a number of Hottentots, the reputed "ill-used and oppressed" people of the "cruel Boers," although told they might return with the military party, chose to remain with their hard-task-masters, the self-expatiated frontier farmers.—(Vide, Military Correspondence, Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 14, 21—1834.)

Dr. Andrew Smith the intelligent and indefatigable naturalist and traveller, who had visited Natal in 1832, reported so favorably of its capabiltities for emigration, that public attention was at this time forcibly attracted to the place. The consequence of this was the transmission of a Memorial to the Home Government, signed by 192 merchants and others of Cape Town, requesting that Natal might be colonized. To this Memorial, some able notes upon the country, was appended from the pen of Dr. S. But the Government, however, refused *again* to listen to any overtures of the kind, and Natal remained subject to all those irregularities which mark communities of men unrestrained by law in the vicinity of savages, who know no control to there passions. With what ease and small expense this place could have then been taken possession of, and its pomise will appear by the following extract from Dr. Smith's Notes:—

Parag. 9.—" Looking therefore to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaing a large population," &c. &c. &c,

A detachment of 60 men, together with a magistrate to administer the law, and communicate with the Zoolas, would, in my opinion, be quite sufficient for the protection of a small mercantile community. It would, however, be next to impossible to confine it long to such a class of persons. The character by which the country is known, both in the colony and elsewhere, would urge thither persons of all descriptions, and in no long time the entire of the district now lying waste would be covered with emigrants, who, if they were commonly industrious, would soon convert it into a most flourishing settlement.

(Signed) ANDREW SMITH, M. D.,
Staff Assistant-Surgeon.

Cape Town, 6th May, 1834.

The following is the official negative put upon the Merchant's Petition, received the following year-

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Colonial Office, Cape Town, 12th March, 1835.

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to my letter to you of the 19th January last, relative to a memorial addressed to the King in Council by several Merchants and Inhabitants of the Cape, praying for the establishment of a Settlement at Port Natal, I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Memorialits, that a despatch has been received from the Secretary of State, stating that His Majesty's Government have fully considered the Memorial in question; but, with every disposition duly to appreciate the benefits likely to result from an extension of the commerce and the general relations of the colony, the Government do not feel that they could recommend to His Majesty to grant his sanction to the prayer of the petition; as in the present state of the finances of the Cape any additional expense for the establishment of a new Settlement would be highly inconvenient, and could not, with propriety be incurred,

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN BELL.

The good faith towards, and the dependence on the Colony at this time felt by the farmers, may be gathered from the fact, that one of these voluntary exiles, at this period, applied to Mr. Rawstone, the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, to enregister a slave, born beyond the boundary, which was, of course, refused to be entertained by the Registrar.

The active party, of whom Mr. Kolbe had been the recent instrument, eager to grasp any circumstance to keep alive the all-potent non-slavery cry, and to impugn the character of the colonists, had, for some time before, laid to their charge that they had introduced from beyond the frontier, Bechuana children as slaves—an accusation, at once denied by Captain Stockenstrom—certainly an authority, when in *favor* of his countrymen—who, in a letter to D. M. Percival, Esq. Clerk to the Council, dated, 20 February, 1827, designates it as a "visionary idea of their being enslaved or substituted for slaves." Notwithstanding which grave and authoritive proof of innocence, this charge has been reiterated year after year, and is now transferred from the inhabitants within the Colony to the Farmers at Natal.

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The close of 1834 witnessed the unprovoked but long conspired invasion of the Colony by the Kafir tribes, the result of which was the plunder and almost destruction of a peaceable and unoffending people, whose whole intercoure with the barbarians had been been directed to civilize, conciliate, and christianize them. On this occasion, 5,715 horses, 111,930 cattle, 161,930 sheep and goats were carried off; 456 houses were reduced to ashes, 300 were pillaged, 58 wagons destroyed, amounting to the value of £300,000 sterling, and 44 lives mercilessly sacrificed by the savages.

This wide spread and murderous desolation, inflicted upon 7,000 British subjects, was however *justified* by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg. Deceived by a party of meddling enthusiasts, set on by individuals who had their private ends to serve,—who would see nothing but what was amiable in black skins, and oppressive and cruel in white—*he*, the natural protector of his Sovereign's lieges, abandoned his charge, and by lending his ear to irresponsible in-informers, gravely put upon record the following monstrous and baseless opinion:—

> That through a long series of years the Kafirs had an ample justification of the war;" that they "had to resent, and endeavored justly though impotently to avenge a series of encroachments,—they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless of extorting by force that redress which they could not otherwise obtain, and that the original justice is on the side of the conquered (Kafirs) and not the victorious party."

This public expression, by such a high and influential authority, and the subsequent dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban from the Government of the Colony, had an immediate effect upon the Dutch farmers, who began to prepare for a most extensive abandonment of their native homes, indignant at having insult added to injury, and every prospect of redress thus at once cut off.

A. D. 1835.

Natal was visited in 1835 by Capain Allen Gardiner of the Royal Navy, a near relative of Lord Bexley. This gentleman,

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impressed with the belief he could effect the religious conversion of the Zoolah nation, established friendly relations with Dingaan, who, however, he describes as an atrocious miscreant; and although that chief would not listen to the erection of a mission near his own village or kraal, he permitted him to fix an institution at the port itself, to which the name of Berea was given, where about 2,500 natives were settled under the English residents. With rather more zeal than humanity he entered into the following treaty with the despot, whereby he agreed that in future all deserters from Dingaan should be given up, and which he actually carried out by surrendering with his own hand several of those unfortunates, who were put to a slow and cruel death :—

A Treaty concluded between Dingaan, King of the Zoolus and the British Residents at Port Natal:—

Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal on their part engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zoolu country or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual, endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise. in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingaan.

Any infringement of this treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella this 6th day of May, 1835, in presence of—

UMTHELLA, } Chief Indoonas and head Councillors of
TAMBOOZA, } the Zoolu naiion.

G. CYRUS, Interpreter.

Signed on behalf of the British Residents at Port Natal.

ALLEN F. GARDINER.

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On the 23rd of the following June the inhabitants of the port, having founded a town and made a number of Regulations, addressed a petition to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, begging that he would transmit their prayer for His Majesty's recognition of the settlement. To this, however the home government, still stedfast in their former resolution, refused to accede. Sir Benjamin, however, in the interim, pledged himself to send an officer to be in authority in the place of Capt. Gardiner during his absence to England, where he proceeded to procure the recognition of the settlement:—

Petition of the Householders of the Town of D'Urban, Port Natal.

May it please your Excellency,—

We, the undersigned British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'Urban, in honor of your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land—a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation; many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which is almost exclusively obtained within the limits which, by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains, have been conceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Chaka, late king of the Zoolus, and other causes, the whole country included between the Umzimcoolu and Tugala rivers, is now unoccupied by its original possessors, and with a very few exceptions is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives, from time to time, have entered this settlement for protection; the amount of whom, at this present moment, cannot be less than three thousand.

These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for protection, notwithstanding which, we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native states without the shadow of a law or a recognized authority among us.

We, therefore, humbly pray your Excellency, for the sake of humanity—for the upholding of the British character in the eyes of the natives—for the well-being of this increasing community—for the cause of morality and religion, to transmit this, our Petition, to His Majesty's Government, praying, that it may please His Majesty to recognize the country intervening between the Umzim-

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coolu and Tugala rivers, which we have named VICTORIA, in honor of our august Princess, as a colony of the British empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council, with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them in concert with a body of Representatives chosen by ourselves, to constitute a House of Assembly.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Chief of the Zoolus, Dingaan.

I rejoice to hear of the good word which has passed between the Chief and Captain Gardiner, and of the Treaty concluded between them, for the town and people of Port Natal.

An officer, on the part of the King of England, my master, shall speedily be sent to Port Natal, to be in authority there, in the place of Captain Gardiner, until his return, and to communicate with the Chief Dingaan upon all matters concerning the people of Natal. By him I will send to the Chief presents in token of friendship and good understanding, of which I hereby assure the Chief in the name of the King, my master.

(Signed) BENJ. D'URBAN.

Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Given at the Cape of Good Hope, this 5th day of December, 1835.

On the 13th July Dingaan pledged his royal word to cede to Gardiner and the people at Natal what had been already purchased in 1689 by the Dutch government, and then again given, first to Farewell, then to King and afterwards to Collis, viz. all the territory between the Tugala and Omzimcoolu Rivers, and as far back from the coast as the Quathlamba Mountains, about 15,000 square miles.

The florid representations of Mr. Collis on his several visits to the Colony of his favorite Natal had had some considerable effect upon the Dutch Colonists of the frontier. At this time too—smarting under the recent invasion and irritated by the Abolition Act, which, they alleged, deprived them of

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their slaves for an inadequate compensation,* and denied the enactment of a law to repress vagrancy, which had become an intolerable evil, although such a law they considered was pledged to them by the government when it wished to pacify

*COMPENSATION FOR EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

The following Table shews the appraised value of the Slaves in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with the sum actually awarded to the late Proprietors :—

Number of Slaves.	CLASS.	Appraised value by British Commissioners. £	s.	d.	Amount awarded as compensation by British Govt. £	s.	d.
	Prædial.						
399	Head People, ...	63,251	15	0	25,943	0	8
297	Do. Tradesmen,...............	46,433	15	0	19,045	0	10
132	Inferior do.	15,783	10	0	6,473	13	8
5,671	Field Laborers, ...	754,256	1	6	309,362	1	10
5,333	Inferior do.	466,203	3	0	191,215	12	11
	Non Prædial.						
1,195	Head Tradesmen, ...	179,659	5	0	73,688	3	6
953	Inferior do.	96,825	12	0	39,718	10	5
20	Head People employed on Wharfs, ...	1,960	0	0	803	18	1
23	Inferior do.	2,306	4	10	945	18	4
5,239	Head Domestics	603,108	7	0	247,368	0	6
9,860	Inferior do.	706,218	11	6	289,659	4	5
5,731	Children	92,922	9	2	38,112	12	7
892	Aged	12,361	12	0	5,070	3	5
35,745	TOTAL....	3,041,290	6	0	1,247,401	1	2

Appraised Average per Head. £85 1 7¾

Awarded Average do. £34 17 11½

The result therefore appears as follows, viz. :—

To amount due by the British Government for 35,745 slaves liberated, as valued by its own appointed appraisers £3,041,290

By amount actually awarded, ... £1,247,401

Less Commission, 2½ per cent. £31,185

Do. Stamps and Postages.................. 10,722 41,907 £1,205,494

Amount of which the late Slave-holders complain they have been deprived by the British Government £1,835,796

But the Shareholders complained of harsher treatment than this. From the circumstance that the payment of the compensation was ordered to be made in England, the Cape Merchants and others were enabled to buy up from the ignorant Boers their claims at a heavy discount, from 5 to 20, and in some instances, 27 and more per cent., often for *Goods*, and not cash, and they allege, correctly or not, that individuals connected with the compensation commission were most active in these proceedings. So unpopular was the whole affair that there are several instances of Farmers throwing up their claims altogether.

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them for the loss of their slaves*—the Boers began now earnestly to contemplate emigration beyond the Colonial boundaries. A small party had indeed been sent out to explore and report upon the interior before the Kafir invasion, from which it returned after that event, and, no doubt, their representations increased the desire which was much strengbened by that catastrophe.

That these *grievances* were the real causes of the migration and that they were *real* grievances, I think we may take the opinion of Major Charters, an authority by no means too favorable to the colonists, whether English or Dutch. He observes—

Next came the compensation question; and here, *it must be confessed, the boer was rather scurvily used.* If my information be correct, and I have no reason to doubt it, for I gleaned it on the spot, *an estimation was made much below the market value of the slaves at the time, and only one half of this sum was granted.* If the money required for this payment had been sent direct from England, the discontent would have been infinitely less, but it was made payable in London, so that the boer had to place himself in the hand, and submit to *the tender mercies, of certain Cape Town merchants,* who brought his compensation-money into such a concentrated state that he had no occasion for his ox-wagon to carry it home.

Another cause of sore complaint connected with this question arose from the special justices. The following case, which was

*COLONEL WADE'S GUARANTEE FOR A VAGRANT LAW.

You will not fail to impress upon the proprietors that the Legislature has not abolished the domestic authority of the master or decided upon the emancipation of the slave without at the same time providing for "an efficient stipendiary Magistracy," and "for the frequent and punctual visitation by the Special Justices of the Peace of the apprenticed laborers within their respective districts, and also for the enactment of laws," for the prevention and punishment of insolence and insubordination on the part of the apprentices towards their employers, "of vagrancy" or "of any conduct on the part of the apprenticed laborers injuring or tending to injure the property of their employers" *and the Proprietors may further rest satisfied that long before the period of the expiration of Apprenticeship arrives other laws will be enacted having in like manner for their object the prevention and punishment of vagrancy after that period, and for securing a sufficiency of laborers to the Colony by compelling not only the liberated Apprentice to earn his honest livelihood, but all others who being capable of doing so may be inclined to lead an idle and vagabondizing life.*

Circular dated Government House, 7th January, 1834.

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related to me by a boer of the name of Jacobus Uys, at Port Natal, an intelligent and respectable man, will convey an idea of what used to take place. His farm was at the Kroom river, and one of his apprentices made a complaint of ill usage against him to the special justice, who lived two days' journey on horseback distant from him. Uys was summoned to appear: he made his statement, and was allowed to return home. It seems, however, that something had been omitted in the examination, and he was summoned again; hence a journey of eight days was inflicted on him. At least judgment was given, and the complaint dismissed as being frivolous and vexatious.

Such grievances will worry people, awaken animosity, and infuse energy, even into Dutch-colonial boers—and of a dangerous nature too!

Another cause of just complaint was the violent seizure of property during the Kafir war of 1835 *by Government, without adequate indemnification.* Cattle were taken wherever they could be found, both for transport and provisions; and the unsettled claims on this score amount, as I have been informed, to upwards of £250,000. This abuse will best be explained by an example. I was riding out one day with the Governor near Graham's Town, when we passed, by the roadside, the tent of a wagon converted into a hut, and a family living in it. A middled-aged, melancholy-looking man was standing at a little distance, who took his hat off as the Governor approached. His Excellency, as he was wont to do, when anything attracted his attention, stopped to speak to him. The man said that his name was Carnie, a Scotchman; that he had come out with the settlers in 1820; that by great exertions he had been able to make himself tolerably comfortable, and had possessed from 80 to 100 oxen; that the Kafir war took place; that he himself was marched off to Graham's Town to be enrolled as a soldier, and all his cattle taken by Government; that on his return, after the war, he found his house destroyed and all his effects gone, and that the only remuneration he could ever get consisted of some cattle, which he had been able to sell for £30. Many were the instances of a similar nature which came to my knowledge, but the above may be taken as a type of the whole. Well might these people exclaim—"Heaven protect us from our friends!"

The last subject to which I shall advert, as influencing the emigration of the boers, is the insecurity of property along the Kafir frontier from the depredations of these people. The frontier Kafirs, particularly the Gaika tribe, steal cattle from the colonists whenever they have an opportunity; and these often occur, for they are guarded with extreme negligence by their owners. *They are inimitable cattle stealers, and they set about their work with a degree of dexterity which does infinite credit to their ingenuity*

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and activity. The very cattle themselves seem to be in the plot, and they elope with them as if by appointment.

The line of frontier is all in favor of the Kafirs: a dense jungle, the medium breadth of which is about five miles, torn and intersected by deep ravines, a great part of it impenetrable, except to Kafirs and wild beasts, occupies about one hundred miles of frontier, following the sinuosities of the great Fish River. The whole British army would be insufficient to guard it. The frontier Kafirs were not always thieves; they were taught to be so by their rather more civilized neighbours, the frontier boers, who, under ancient misrule, used to make inroads upon them at their pleasure. The Kafirs returned the compliment—at first to recover their own; afterwards, acquiring a taste for predatory habits, they continued to practise the lesson that had been taught them, and became what they now are, most daring and dexterous thieves—not robbers;—they seldom, if ever, take by force, and, when detected in the act, a rare occurrence, generally quit their prey and make off.

A.D. 1835—36.

The war upon the Kafirs, in retaliation of their atrocious invasion terminated at the close of the year. The native tribes as far eastward as the Kei were incorporated as subjects of His Majesty, the territory annexed to the crown under the name of The Province of Adelaide. The rank and feelings of the Kafir chief were so far respected as that they were mostly appointed local functionaries under the British Government. This state of affairs, now designated as the D'Urban system, in contra-distinction to that which was destined so soon after to supersede it—the Stockenstrom Policy—lasted for 15 months; during which period Kafir depredations almost entirely ceased—the cruel punishment for the reputed crime of witchcraft and other heathen superstitions were abrogated—the purchase of wives, the fertile cause of robbery upon the colonists, forbidden; the Kafir people were relieved from the gross oppression of the native chiefs, and both colonists and Kafirs were happy and contented with the present peace and its prospects for the future, which the sagacious and benevolent system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban so ably administered by Colonel Smith, had produced.

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A.D. 1836.

In the early part of this year a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the treatment of aborigines in the British Colonies. Messrs. Buxton, Hardy, Hawes, Bagshaw, Holland, Pase, Plumtree, Sir R. S. Donkin, Sir G. Grey, Messrs. Lushington, Baynes, A. Johnstone, Wilson, Hindly, and Col. Thomson, being the members. The proceedings of this Committee had a marked and fatal influence upon the Colony. Biassed in favor of the Kafirs, and deeply prejudiced against the Colonists, every evidence in behalf of the latter, however respectable or trustworthy, was unheeded, while the wildest and most extravagant denunciations against them were favorably entertained, and even its very report was entrusted to be drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Philip, the least principled and bitterest accuser of the Colonists; a person who, to serve his purpose, did not hesitate in one case to suppress, and in another interpolate whole passages in public papers laid before the Committee, besides being guilty of the most shameless fabrications.

Amongst those who took advantage of, and fostered the popular clamour, and whose long acquaintance with the colony, and his connexion with its government, added weight to his testimony, was Captain (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, who, on the 2d of February, was appointed Lieut. Governor of the Eastern Districts, and who assumed his government armed with the most mischievous instructions, founded on the lamentable delusion he had assisted to produce.

The purport of Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 26th December, 1835, already alluded to, now became known in the Colony, and had its effect in loosening the affections of the Dutch inhabitants and disgusting the English. The feeling of disappointment and indignatien this created was, however, increased by the appointment in question, as it appeared to be the reward of his cruel and unjust evidence. But it was still further augmented by the knowledge that a bill had been smuggled at a late hour through a thin House of the Com-

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mons, based upon the same misrepresentations, and which, to make it still more galling, was y'clept, par excellence, "THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PUNISHMENT BILL."

ANNO SEXTO & SEPTIMO

GULIELMI IV. REGIS.

CAP. LVII.

An Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Offences committed by His Majesty's Subjects within certain Territories adjacent to the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

[13th August, 1836.]

Whereas the Inhabitants of the Territories adjacent to the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the Southward of the Twenty-fifth Degree of South Latitude, being in an uncivilized state, *Offences against the Person and Property of such Inhabitants and others are frequently committed by His Majesty's Subjects within such Territory with impunity*; for Remedy thereof, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the Laws which are now or which shall hereafte be in force in the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, for the Punishment of Crimes therein committed, shall be, and the same are hereby extended and declared applicable to all His Majesty's Subjects within any Territory adjacent to the said Colony, and being to the *Southward of the Twenty-fifth Degree of South Latitude*, and that every Crime or Offence, committed by any of His Majesty's Subjects within any such Territory in contravention of any such Laws, shall be cognizable in any such Courts, and shall be inquired of, tried, and prosecuted, and on conviction punished in such and the same manner as if the same had been committed within the said Colony.

II. And whereas it is necesssary to prevent as far as may be the Commission of Crimes by His Majesty's Subjects within such Territories as aforesaid, and to provide for the Arrest, Commitment, and bringing to Punishment of any of His Majesty's Subjects by whom any such Crimes may be perpetrated; be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor of the said Colony to address to any One or more of His Majesty's Subjects, being within or about to resort to any such Territories as aforesaid, One or more Commission or Commissions, authorizing him or them to exercise within such Territories the Office of a Magistrate for the purpose of preventing the perpetration therein by any of His Majesty's Subjects of any Crimes or Offences, and for the purpose of arrest-

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ing, committing to Custody, and bringing to Trial, before such Courts as aforesaid, any of His Majesty's Subjects, charged on sufficient Evidence before him or them with the Commission of any such Crimes or Offences, within any such Territories; and it shall also be lawful to the Governor of the said Colony, by any such Commission or Commissions as aforesaid, to define with all practicable and convenient precision the local limits within which the Jurisdiction of any such Magistrate or Magistrates shall be so exercised, and to which it shall so extend; and within the Limits so to be defined as aforesaid, every such Magistrate shall have, exercise, and enjoy, all such Powers and Authorities over and in reference to His Majesty's Subjects inhabiting or being within the same, as shall by any such Commission or Commissions be specially granted; Provided always, that no such Powers or Authoiities shall be so granted by any such Commission or Commissions, save only such as shall be necessary for accomplishing the purposes aforesaid with promptitude and effect.

III. And be it further enacted, That all such Commissions as aforesaid shall be made to continue in force only during His Majesty's pleasure; and the Governor for the time being of the said Colony, shall be, and he is hereby bound and required to transmit a Copy of every such Commission by the earlies opportunity to His Majesty, through one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, for his approbation or disallowance.

IV. And be it further enacted, *That nothing herein, or in any such Commission or Commissions contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to invest His Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, with any Claim or Title whatsoever to Dominion or Sovereignty over any such Territories as aforesaid, or to derogate from the Rights of the Tribes or People inhabiting such Territories, or of Chiefs or Rulers, to such Sovereignty or Dominion.*

V. And be it further anacted and declared, That for the purposes of this Act, any Person lawfully administering the Government of the said Colony shall be deemed and taken to be the Government thereof.

The practical value of this bungling piece of ultra-philanthropic legislation, which at least would require the services of the first astronomer of the age, Sir John Herschel, to fix the exact geographical boundary between the southern and northern line of the 25 degree of latitude, will be seen by the following extract from Mr. Advocate Musgrave's argument before the Supreme Court of the Colony in 1837, when the operations of the enactment came before it. Not a single conviction has taken place under the law, and the Chief Justice

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himself was warned at Graaff-Reinet by the Bar, against pronouncing a sentence of Death. upon its authority, lest he himself should become thereby involved in a similar charge to that which he was about to try. Lord Glenelg's opinion on the same subject will be seen by an extract from his own despatch of the 29th October, 1837, shortly to be quoted:—

SUPREME COURT, DEC. 23, 1837.

Mr. Musgrave.—I will shew that a man is not a British subject, unless he is a natural born subject; "For murder, committed by a British subject abroad, it is necessary, to convict a man, to prove that he is a British-born subject." Now the right of granting a warrant, and of convicting, stand upon the same footing, and your lordships are bound to inquire in the first instance, and demand reasonable evidence on this point. I contend that no person is amendable under that Act, unless he is a British-born subject, and consequently the Parliament must make an alteration if they wish to touch that class of persons against whom the Act was directed. The law of allegiance has undergone vast alterations. The rule is, that *allegiance and protection are inseparable*; and if you *cannot protect* a man as a British subject, you *cannot punish* him as such.

[Here the learned Advocate quoted some cases.]

Justice Menzies.—In the late war, there was a British sailor taken out of an American ship and and hung.

Mr. Musgrave.—We are not fond of trying the point, though I would refer your lordships to Harrison's Digest, page 1184, "If a body of persons assemble together to protect themselves, and support their own independence, and make laws, and have Courts of Justice, that is evidence of their being a State; and it makes no difference whether they formerly belonged to another country, or not, if they do not continue to acknowledge it, and are in possession of a force sufficient to support themselves in opposition to it."

Chief Justice.—What is the meaning of "strong enough to resist?" They must prove that position.

Mr. Musgrave.—To apply this, I need only refer your lordship, to the manifestoes recently put forth by the Emigrant Farmers, from which it would appear, they have formed something like a government beyond the colony. If Retief's proclamations are to be believed, he has a whole standing army at his disposal; and I have occasion to know, that they have established Courts of Justice, as one of my learned brethren here has had an offer of the Chief Justiceship. If, then, the British Government acknowledges

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that "might is right," and as it has acknowledged, on this ground, the independence of the American States, *I say, that Retief and his adherents are independent of our laws.*

Chief Justice.—That applies to a mass of men; but how would it apply to an individual of that mass? A body of men may be independent, on your reasoning, when they are strong enough to protect themselves, but if an individual is caught and brought into the colony does the protection of the mass apply?

Mr. Musgrave.—If it were a question under Retief's laws, he might raise the point of "state, or no state." I applied this to throw light on the change which the law of allegiance has undergone: The general principle is laid down in "Bingham's Reports, 432, Yusari versus Clement." This case follows up the principle, 2 Knopp's Appeal Cases, 311.

Justice Menzies —If, then, a British subject were found plotting in another state against the life of Queen Victoria, do you not say he would be guilty of treason?

Mr. Musgrave.—If you are able to catch him and bring him to trial. This case shews that under the existing law a man may sustain the two characters of a French and a British subject at the same time. I would now refer your lordships to Haggard's Report 99, to shew that a Dutchman, having owned allegiance to Her Majesty here while a resident in the colony, ceases to do so on crossing the boundary. The case to which I refer was that of an American, who had served in a British military corps, and taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, but having been born in America, he was judged to be an American subject. Again, there was in the same case the claim of Mr. M'Ridge, a British-born subject residing at Boston, which called forth observations from Lord Stark, particularly applicable to the present question. So much for the British subject. But there is yet another very formidable obstacle in your lordship's way—since this statute passed, certain treaties have been entered into with some of the native tribes beyond the frontier, in which it is expressly stipulated, that all offences committed within their territories by British subjects, shall be tried in those countries, unless the offenders escape into the colony, when the aid of the local courts may be called in. I think my learned friend will not say, that we, at this time of the day, are to put aside every thing like international law. Are these treaties not binding, and are we not acting, I should say, are we not *unfortunately* acting upon them at this moment? They have a specific enactment in their favor, which refers to them in the preamble, and makes certain provisions in aid of them. If, then, these treaties are in force, and if British subjects are declared triable, under a particular jurisdiction beyond the frontier, will your lordships hold

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that there is another jurisdiction, before which they may be tried again? In this act there is an express reservation as to the rights of all persons residing in those countries. This, my lords, is a very grave question. Suppose a British subject to plead before a Kafir Chief that he has been already tried and punished within the colony, would not the chief very naturally reply, "It is true, you have been tried by the Supreme Court; but that cannot avail against the treaty which reserves to me the right to try this offence which was committed within my territories." It is indeed a very grave question; and i'faith it will not do for us, while the Aborigines Committee is sitting, to invade the rights of the Kafirs?

Justice Menzies.—Does it not occur to you that the answer to that is, that although, no doubt, the treaty and the act together lead to great inconvenience, yet that this Court is bound to obey the Act?

Mr. Musgrave.—It cannot be done, my lords, upon public faith, and if we go to war upon a question of that kind, it would be a most unjustifiable war. While the treaty remains in force, a man who has been tried and punished by this Court might afterwards be tried and punished for the same offence by Macomo.

Justice Menzies.—I won't say that. But I won't say that this court may not try a man who has been punished by Macomo I am not defending the Act. But I say the Court is placed in that predicament.

Mr. Musgrave.—Then there is a direct invasion of the principle that a man's life shall not be twice placed in jeopardy.

Justice Menzies.—But an Act of Parliament may do that to-morrow.

Mr. Musgrave.—At the time the Act was passed the treaties were not in force.

Justice Menzies.—But is not that an argument against the treaties, and not against the Act of Parliament? The Lieutenant-Governor, or the Governor in Council, acting merely in virtue of Instructions under the sign manual, cannot, by any treaty, overturn an Act of Parliament.

The Attorney-General.—The treaties are not ratified by the Crown.

Chief Justice.—They are ratified by the Governor here.

Mr. Musgrave.—There is a local enactment which recites them as being in operation, and consequently confirms them *ad interim.*

The despair of the Border Farmers, at the projected reversal

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of the pacification of the Frontier under Sir Benjamin D'Urban, induced considerable numbers to decide upon immediate removal to where, at least, they would be able to defend themselves against barbarian aggression, if they could not be beyond misrepresentation, but many still lingered under the general impression that there were *legal impediments* to their emigration. These doubts, however, were speedily swept away by the Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom himself, who on his arrival at Uitenhage, on the 27th August, to take possession of his new Government, in a reply to an address of the inhabitants of that place, which indicated the vicious and unpopular course he was about to pursue, at the same time gave the highest authoritive sanction for the expatriation of the most valuable portion of the Colonial community. He there said—

"Upon one subject I trust you will allow me to touch, as deeply involving the interests of a proportion of our fellow colonists. I allude to the projected emigration of a number of farmers from this colony to the more interior parts of Africa *It is but candid at once to state, that I am not aware of any law which prevents any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions, and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive.*"

To other addresses from various parts of the Eastern Districts, the replies of His Honor the Lieut.-Governor were couched in terms everything but conciliatory or agreeable. To one from the British settlers of Albany, who at once nobly came forward to ask wherefore he had given evidence so dessonant to what they knew to be the fact, he declined to reply, although it was subscribed by above 400 persons, including all the leading inhabitants ; but what gave the deadliest offence to the Dutch population, and shewed that they had neither to expect justice nor courtesy at the hands of their countryman, was his correspondence with the unfortunate Retief, which is here extracted from the "Graham's Town Journal" of 17th Nov. 1836. The consequence of these *exhibitions* was a general rush from the colony, and the foundation of all that has since occurred at Natal.

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THE ADDRESS OF THE WINTERBERG FARMERS.

The following remarkable and painfully-interesting correspondence has been placed in our hands with a request that we would publish it for general information. We comply with this request the more readily from a long and full knowledge of the writer of most of these documents—and, while we consider Mr. PIETER RETIEF a good representative of the Frontier Farmers, we at the same time view him as one of the most honorable, independent men to be found in this Colony.

On the arrival of the British settlers in 1820 Mr. R. resided in Graham's Town, and was at that time considered the most opulent man in the district of Albany. The kindness with which he received the British Immigrants—the assistance he afforded them—and the interest he took in their early endeavors, will be always remembered by them with gratitude. Unfortunately he was induced to engage in several speculations perfectly incongruous to his customary pursuits; particularly in the erection of extensive military barracks and the government drostdy house, and which ultimately involved him in expensive law-suits, by which he lost a large portion of his property. One disaster followed quickly on the heels of another, and for several subsequent years Mr. R. was reduced from opulence to great pecuniary embarassment. Latterly his prospects have brightened. Having become the lessee of a corn-farm in the Winterberg division, he has there by great personal industry attained a considerable degree of comfort, acquired the esteem of his neighbours, and so far the confidence of the government as to be appointed the Field-commandant of that district, in which capacity he has exerted himself greatly to the satisfaction and benefit of the whole community.* It is necessary to offer these brief remarks for the better understanding of the correspondence which follows. The original documents are in Dutch, but they have been rendered into English as literally as the language would admit.

The following, from his Honor, is in reply to a letter addressed to him by Mr. Retief, immediately on his arrival on the frontier:—

Graham's Town, Sept. 6, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT.—Colonel Somerset has had the kindness to send me your letter of the 24th Aug. I am happy to see that you take an interest in the prosperity of your dependents; and this I can tell you, that if all honest sensible men unite in protecting the ig-

*It may be interesting to those, not acquainted with the fact, to state, that Mr. Retief married the widow of the gallant Field-Cornet Greyling, who was treacherously butchered by the Kafirs, whilst endeavoring bravely to defend the elder Stockenstrom against their murderous attack. During the late war a son of this ill-fated man—one of the finest young men in Albany—also lost his life by the assagai of the enemy.

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norant against cunning and deception, this country can yet be happy.

Let us thus all, each in his capacity, be faithful, and hoping this from you, I remain, &c.

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

To Mr. PIETER RETIEF.

On the 20th of Sept. Mr. R. had an interview with his Honor in the Kat River Settlement, on which occasion he solicited him to visit his ward, the inhabitants thereof being particularly anxious to meet him to state their grievances personally, as well as to present him with an address which had been prepared and signed by the residents of that neighbourhood. His Honor promised, it is said, to visit them, but instead of doing so he took a circuitous route, contenting himself with transmitting to Mr. R. the following letter:—

Shilo, September 23, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT, - Considering it necessary to travel from hence to Cradock, I shall probably be unable to visit your ward at present, but as I have fully communicated my sentiments to you verbally, you will be easily enabled to make them known to your burghers. They, I believe, all know me. Many years have they been acquainted with my government. From the principles to which I have always clung, I shall not deviate one hair's-breadth; every one, therefore, knows what he has to expect,—my utmost exertions to promote the prosperity, and the protection of the good, peaceable, and honest, of whom so many surround us, and the rigid punishment of the laws to those who by deeds of blood and injustice, may again place the country in danger. In one word, equal rights to all classes, without distinction. In this I know you and all good men (particularly those who bear the name of "Christian,") will assist me, that we may once more grow and bloom together in peace, and we hope to show that all endeavors to move us from our duty will be fruitless.

With respect to those who intend leaving the colony, I can only say that I cannot prevent them from so doing, and if they could be happier in another country, I would myself advise them to remove; but I place so much interest in the fate of my countrymen, that I consider it my duty at least to advise them fully to weigh what they undertake, and what the consequences may be to them and their posterity, and not to allow themselves to be led away by the cunning and deception of persons who have nothing but their own interest in view.

I wish you all happiness, and inform you that if any one should wish to speak to me, there will be an opportunity for doing so, at the Baviaan's River.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

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Sept 24.—I have this moment received intelligence that Masselikatse has murdered about 30 of the migratory persons, among whom are women and babes. The remainder are returning to the colony. When will my unfortunate countrymen learn whose advise they ought to take? and what have those to answer for who have misled these unfortunate victims? Do as an honest man, and watch against such deception! A. S.

To Mr. PIETER RETIEF.

The inuendoes contained in the above communication we are of opinion might well have been spared, without in the least detracting from its merits as an official document. If the meritorious part of the community *is* deluded by cunning and deception to their ruin—and we may add to the ruin of the country—it is a positive duty in him to whom the public welfare is entrusted, not to deal in insinuations, but to speak out plainly, and to adopt such measures as shall effectually counteract the effect of such infamous machinations. On the return of his Honor to Graham's Town, a few weeks afterwards, a note, enclosing the Address of the farmers of the Winterberg, was transmitted to him, as follows;—

SIR,—Being fully convinced that it will be desirable to your Honor fully to understand the sentiments of the inhabitants, who have now by the hand of Providence been placed under your government—as without such knowledge, it will be impossible for your Honor satisfactorily to carry into effect those benevolent measures which we flatter ourselves your Honor has in contemplation for the prosperity of the country,—I now hand your Honor an address of the inhabitants of my ward; and which, as loyal subjects of the government,—as lovers of their country, and as persons who really desire your happiness, they have prepared and signed accordingly on your Honor's arrival amongst them to assume your duties as their future Lieutenant-Governor.

I remain, Your obedient Servant, &c.

(Signed) PIETER RETIEF.

His Honor A. STOCKENSTOM.

The following is a translation of the Address, but we are informed that in *pathos*, and earnest simplicity of expression, it is very inferior to the original Dutch :—

To His Honor, ANDREAS STOCKNSTROM, *Esq*, *Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope :—*

SIR,—We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the Winterberg and Koonap, take the liberty to congratulate your Honor on your appointment as Lieutenant Governor for the Eastern Province, and

we hope that the choice of the English government will prove to us that *that choice* will be productive of favorable results.

We are, however, driven to the necessity, before we take upon ourselves to express our individual joy at this appointment, respectfully to request your Honor to pause for a moment with regard to our sentiments, as we must acknowledge with sorrow and deep regret that our wounded feelings are not to be pacified by outward appearances or fair promises, but that nothing less than *deeds* and *demonstration* will bring us back from the opinions we at present hold. We offer these remarks that it may not be thought that a hidden discontent exists amongst us; but we mention it in passing to remind your Honor ot the evidence given by yourself, as well as others, before the House of Commons' Committee, respecting the deeds of cruelty and inhumanity which are stated to have been committed by us,—as in our present circumstances we see ourselves placed in a situation—in consequence of the evidence above alluded to—cut off, as it were, from all hope of brighter prospects for the future. And how, then, Sir, could we, holding such opinions, offer up songs of gladness, in consequence of the elevation of your Honor, if such does not ensure to us some amendment?

We will not trouble your Honor further with a detailed account of all the miseries which we have to contend with, and for the sake of brevity will satisfy ourselves by requesting your Honor to be good enough to clear up to us—who cannot fathom the reasons why we have been presented to the British Government as *monsters of cruelty and barbarity*, or the circumstances which could have held out an inducement for pourtraying us in the above light,—as your Honor must be but too well convinced of the contrary.

We close this our humble Address with the certain assurance, that should your Honor come to the determination of satisfying our minds,—in order to reconcile us and our unfortunate expatriated countrymen to the land of our birth—by clear *proofs* and *actions*—so that we may experience an improvement in our distressed and deplorable circumstances;—then, yes then! will our hearts cry aloud with unfeigned gratitude, "*Blessed be the day of the oppointment of our respectable Lieutenant-Governor*,—and *God be praised that it should have entered the thoughts of His Majesty, the King of England, to send us such happiness!*"

But, alas! our long oppressed and dejected feelings have not yet experienced those hallowed moments to which such heartfelt outpourings can be applied. We, therefore, close this Address, with the solemn assurance, that when we shall experience light and relief, we will then shew our unmingled gratitude, in rendering the task of Ruler as easy as possible to your Honor, with the full conviction that—

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Where loyalty and love unite,
Duty's demands will e'er be light;
But if suspicion should prevail,
All hope of union must fail.

Pieter Retief, Field-Commandant.
Hercules Phillippus Malan, Field-cornet,
J. H. Viljoen, Provisional Field-cornet,
J. Dreyer,
C. Dreyer,
J. W. Joubert,
M. Viljoen,
W. A. Viljoen,
J. O. Malan,
A. C. Botma,
Pouwel Botha,
Barend J. de Lange,
Pieter Brits,
Jacobus Van de Wad,
James Edwards,
A. De Waal,
J. F. Fourie,
Jacobus Potgieter,
J. L. Van de Venter,
Pieter Piek,
J. A. Botma, sen.
Jan Daniel Botma,
Lucas W. Rensburg,
Hendrik Rensburg,
David Petrus de Lange,
Philip Potgieter,
Robert Wesson,
Johs. Botma, jun.,
Johs. Verceuil,
Daniel Jacobus Erasmus,
J. F. Retief,
D. J. Erasmus, Dz.
Robert Sully,
P. J. Erasmus,
W. Kloppers,
C. Kloppers,
G. Dreyer,
Jan Erasmus,
G, Van Rooy,
C. J. Van der Merwe,
H. Hattingh,
J. M. Hattingh,
L. J. Kloppers,
W. Potter,
D. Viljoen,
G. D. Piek,
D. J. Welgemoed,
Hendrik Rensburg,
B. S. Van der Linde,
P. Botha,
J. J. Smith, jun.,
J. J Smith, sen.,
A. D. F. Smith,
William Bear,
M. S. de Beer,
G. J. Van der Nest,
A. C. Gryling,
B. C. Gryling,
R. J. Painter,
J Botha,
F. J. Durandt,
John Vaughan,
Gert Botha,
W. J. Botha,
Baltus Prinslo,
H. Klopper.

This Address was returned to Mr. Retief a few days after its receipt with the following *extraordinary* reply :—

Graham's Town, Oct. 20, 1836.

Sir,—In answer to your letter without date, received this day, I have to state that the Address accompanying it, cannot be accepted, and is therefore returned enclosed herewith.

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The only thing that even causes me take so much notice of it, is the conviction that you do not understand the contents thereof,—for a man of your experience and respectability would not advisedly place his signature to a document, the contents of which are directly at variance with truth,—and also contrary to the sentiments expressed by yourself verbally, when, on the 20th ult., at the Kat River, you brought to my recollection atrocities which had been perpetrated on the frontier, and which I had already forgotten.

You are misled,—I, therefore, do not speak in wrath, but with pity, and shall faithfully tell you the truth.

You have allowed yourself to be deluded into the notion that it would *be valiant, or Commandant-valiant,* to follow the example of those who have had time to be ashamed of their folly, before you could prevail on sixty-five credulous persons to make themselves equally ridiculous; and as you have even required no less than six weeks for this purpose, you must now already be convinced that our countrymen are beginning to open their own eyes, and are no longer so easily to be led into an abyss as blind men. Let this, therefore, be a lesson to you, and consult henceforth your own common sense, instead of allowing yourself to be dragged along by those who, knowing your weakness, will use you as a tool to their interest, and who will ridicule you when you are fallen.

With respect to those who have signed with you, they have to struggle with so many misfortunes, that it would be cruel to add one word to their reproof. I know too well how those ignorant persons are deceived. Heaven forbid that I should avenge upon one of them the cunning of their seducers. Many of those who have signed think they have paid me a very pretty compliment, and there are few among them who would not follow me through fire and water when occasion required, just because they know that threats, and "songs of praise" or adulation, are alike indifferent to me; and that nothing that can be said, written, or done, will prevent me to lighten their burden, and to advance their happiness as far as lays in my power; at the same time causing you and them to obey the laws under which Providence has placed us.

One word more as a friendly warning: Col. Somerset has placed in my hands copies of your letters to Capt. Armstrong, of the 9th and 12th insts., in which several unbecoming expressions are used. I believe that the situation you occupy is of little value to you; but it would be unpleasant to me to dismiss a man whom I have respected, and whom I consider competent, when he makes use of his sound reason, to lend me a helping hand to bring our country and its inhabitants back to prosperity, and thus to secure to himself the blessing of posterity. But if, on the contrary, you attempt to add one iota to the confusion which you yourself say has so long existed

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on the frontier, and threaten to trample the existing regulations under foot,—this unpleasant step will be the inevitable consequence.

Your obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

To Mr. PETER RETIEF.

Before the date of the above document, viz., on the 18th October Mr. R. had written to his Honor, giving him a faithful detail of the state of the country in that neighbourhood. The following is a translation of this communication, and also of His Honor's reply. We have inserted these documents in this place, nothwithstanding, as our readers will observe, the dates do not follow consecutively with the other correspondence.

Winterberg, Oct. 18, 1836.

SIR,—That your Honor has not visited my ward, as we expected, caused displeasure to my burghers. I have, therefore, not delayed to copy both your letters, and to send them to my Field-cornets, and have spared no trouble to pacify the inhabitants of my ward, by making known to them that we are now on the eve of enjoying a better and secure life. But, notwithstanding all this, I must inform your Honor, with deep regret, that this day ten families, chiefly of my principal burghers, leave my ward to proceed over the boundary, with the utmost grief at being compelled to quit so promising a country, because they cannot conceive that we shall ever have such laws here, as to guarantee us a quiet and secure living. Not the slightest fear exists among them with regard to the recent massacre over the boundaries. They intend to remain a few months at some convenient spot across the boundary, to ascertain whether better laws will be enacted. Their wish is to return if they can but enjoy a quiet and peaceable life here. To give your Honor some idea of the cause of the inhabitants here leading such an insufferable life, is that our country is at present filled with robbers roving about publicly. I have to inform your Honor that from the 10th instant to this date I caused *thirty* coloured persons to be apprehended, mostly Kafirs, going out to plunder, and some caught plundering, and sent them to Capt. Armstrong, at Fort Beaufort; among these are two Kafirs with passes, whom I apprehended, with the greatest suspicion of their being out for the purpose of plundering. I must add to this, that if no protection is granted me to stop the ruin of the country, the abandonment of this colony will be the consequence in my ward.

In expectation that by your good orders we may live in peace,

I remain, &c., &c.,

(Signed) P. RETIEF, Field-Commandant.

His Honor A. STOCKENSTROM, Esq.

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Graham's Town, Oct. 26, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT,—Your letter of the 18th inst.. I have only this moment received. Instead of the word "*displeasure,*" you meant "*regret,*" because your burghers are all aware that I myself best know when to visit any part of my Province.

That persons are quitting the colony grieves me, on their own account, because I heartily sympathise with their lot; but as regards the "promising country," the government will take care that it is inhabited speedily enough, as I am daily overwhelmed with memorials.

I again tell you, that if you and your fellow-burghers will be wise under all your misfortunes, I yet see happy days for you in future; but be assured that nothing is to be had from me by threats. I would walk round the world to serve this country, but will not allow myself to be moved one inch out of my road. I speak plainly, because I wish to be understood without the possibility of doubt.

If you have apprehended any person with a pass without sufficient grounds, you will have to thank yourself for the consequences. Until the law is altered you must abide by it.

If my business will allow it, I purpose going to the Gonappe's Church on Saturday—and if I have time, further.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTOM.

Mr. P. RETIEF.

The following reply of Mr. RETIEF contrasts finely with the communications to which it refers, and we should think will teach his Honor that in writing to independent men it is not the best or most politic course to make use of uncourteous language,—still less to shake over their heads, *in terrorem*, the power with which he is invested by the supreme government. His Honor will hardly persuade the public that the writer of this letter did not, as he states understand the contents of the Address which he (Mr. R.) and others had transmitted to him.

Winterberg, 31st Oct., 1836.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of both your letters of the 20th and 26th inst., and on which I now calmly sit myself down to reply according to my feelings, *in the full hope and wish that this may be the last correspondence I shall have with your Honor.* I am happy to find your Honor has expressed yourself so plainly, and may, therefore, humbly request you to permit me to do so likewise.

I may truly declare, that your Honor will not find in me the person which you think and say. God knows my feelings, and He

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is aware that I cannot believe that your Honor, or any other person, has a more sincere love for this land of our birth, the happiness of its inhabitants,—or a more faithful care and regard for its peace and laws, than I have. And here I may ask, who in this colony has suffered more than I have, from having such sentiments, and who will not at times evince impatience under such calamitous circumstances? Permit me here to put it to your Honor's sound sense, whether in the existing laws and orders of this colony bitter wailing sighs are not daily sent up to the Almighty?

In the full hope that I shall always be found the same, whether before or behind your Honor, I also have to thank my Creator that I feel that faithlessness or dissembling abides not with me. Therefore, to sign Addresses which I do not understand, and which are contrary to truth, has not, or ever will take place with me. What I told your Honor on the 20th ult.. at the Kat River, I abide by, that the Chief Burgher officers, and not our Burghers, may be guilty of the blame of Kafir robberies,—as well on the commando made several years ago by your Honor, as on the more recent one of Field-commandant van Wyk; and just because what takes place on such occasions is with the knowledge of their officers, I may again ask, why the innocent are to suffer for the guilty? Your Honor shall never find me to conceal crimes which have been committed to my knowledge whether against white or black.

"*Valiantly*," or "*Commandant-valiantly*," to follow foolish examples, I dare to state is not my character. Nor have I persuaded any individual to sign the Address,—much less have I required six weeks to procure those signatures The reason why one portion of my ward did not sign the Address I may freely state: it is because they had an adviser who thought they would do better to give up *character* for the expected *protection!* This Address, therefore, was already signed on your Honor's arrival at Graham's Town, and would also have been presented immediately, had it not been that your Honor had written me, and also communicated to me verbally, that you would speedily visit my ward. I may add, that if we had had the happiness of seeing and speaking to your Honor in my ward we should most probably have been freed from this unpleasantness. That there are those who would lead the blind into an abyss instead of leading the blind right I consider to be a tax upon the conscience. I am most ready to take lessons of value and merit; but the lesson your Honor gives me on that point, feeling by the evidence of my conscience not to have merited, I do not take to myself. I thank my God also that he has not hitherto allowed me to be used as a "tool" for ridicule,—much less to have seduced any person.

Being much pleased that *your Honor acknowledges the loyalty*

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and obedience of our Burghers, I have no doubt but that your honor will endeavor, as far as in your power, to allow these loyal and obedient men to reside under your Honor's government unmolested and protected. Nothing wil give me more pleasure than to see your Honor's government carried on with impartiality and justice.

Although I became impatient at the frequent lamentations of the inhabitants in my ward, I cannot, however, believe that my letters of the 9th and 12th instant, contain any unbecoming expressions.

Your Honor states your belief that the situation I now fill is not worth much to me,—which I do not understand. I must, however, state in the first place, that this situation, in our present circumstances, yields me nothing but a truly careful responsibility, having scarcely a day to devote to my own affairs undisturbed. Secondly—I considered it an office of trust,—thinking, in consequence of my love for my country and the happiness of its inhabitants, to be of some service in the deplorable state of the country. With this feeling only did I accept the situation. It is my earnest wish and desire that your Honor may never be hindered from dismissing me or any other Burgher Officer, on conviction of crime or carelessness in the performance of their duties,—as our Burghers have suffered, and still suffer, from these causes.

Nothing will afford me greater satisfaction than to see myself enabled to lend your Honor a helping hand to ensure our Burghers a better life. I am much pleased to see that Capt. Armstrong has fulfilled his duty as Justice of the Peace by transmitting copies of my letters to higher authorities. Had Capt. A. done so sooner, myself and those connected with me would, probably, have been freed from difficulties which we now suffer.

I understand with deep regret from your Honor's letter of the 26th ult., that instead of having acted right and conscientiously, as I thought, I am accused by your Honor of having held out threats. I understand at the same time that your Honor has not seen my report of the three Kafirs apprehended by me with passes. I, therefore, send it as follows:—The first, with a pass for six or eight days to go to the Kat River, and after the lapse of more than five months, still going about with five others on that pass, was apprehended by the Field-cornet Viljoen, and brought before me, but could not inform me upon what they had subsisted for more than five months. The second, with a pass for one month to go to the Kaga, to fetch two goats, a few days before that pass expired was apprehended by the Field-cornet Malan, in the Koroeme Bush, in the mountain; being eight persons together, and employed in building huts, and without the least prospect other than to live by plunder. The third with a pass from Capt. Campbell, on arriving at the farm

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of the Field-cornet Malan, stole there four sheep and goats. It is now for your Honor to decide whether I acted right or wrong.

Permit me, Sir, in conclusion, again to remind your Honor of my declaration to you at the Kat River; how happy we find ourselves to have your Honor as our Lieutenant-Governor; and that the only obstacle between us may be entirely removed by but five or six words. Your Honor, therefore, knows my earnest wish, and I conceive fully to understand your's. I trust that God will grant that we may speedily, on both sides, accomplish the desired object, by seeing that obstacle removed. What will then hinder me, with an unclouded conscience, to lend you Honor a faithful helping hand to the utmost of my power, to enable you to attain your declared object for country and people, and for your Honor personally?

I have the honor to remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

To His Honor Andries Stockenstrom, &c. &c. &c,

P. S.—On the receipt of your Honor's letter, I instantly recalled my issued orders for the protection of my ward, not to commit myself further to your Honor's threats. P. R.

To this manly, straightforward, and affecting communication his Honor transmitted the following reply:—

Klippaat, the 12th Nov., 1836.

SIR,—On my arrival from Kafirland yesterday I received your's of the 31st ult, and have nothing against it,

I have nothing in the least in my bosom against you, I saw that you were misled; it was my duty to bring you right, and here it ends. I know that you may contribute much towards the tranquility and happiness of the country, and also towards disquietude and misfortune, Should you choose the first you will have me as a supporter and friend;—if you choose the other, then keep yourself to those who will rejoice in your downfall when they have attained their object of self-interest. But I hope better. The Almighty has blessed you with abilities, and by that means given you an influence which you will not use to the downfall of your mother country, after you will have once seen the most dangerous enemies of that country unmasked.

I have this day heard that you are also about to quit the colony. Perhaps you may be of service to your fellow-burghers over the boundary and assist them with good counsel. I pity you all, but wish you prosperity and the protection of the Almighty. Wherever you may roam forget not, and remind your compatriots, that you are Christians, and as such have heavy responsibilities.

Your obedient servant and well-wisher,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

Mr. P. Retief.

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His Honor having charged Mr. Retief with having used unbecoming expressions in communications made by him to Capt. Armstrong, the Commandant and Magistrate at Fort Beaufort,—he has furnished us with the whole of this correspondence, with request that we would give it publicity. We do so the more readily as it will shew clearly the deplorable state of the country, and the intolerable difficulties which, under the present system, the border farmers have to struggle with.

Winterberg, Oct. 9, 1836.

Sir,—Enclosed you will receive an order for ammunition, and I trust that Colonel Somerset, according to promise, will have written you more particularly. As my burghers must be continually out on patrol, and are obliged to keep watch in their kraals at night, I must request you to be kind enough to send the ammuuition over in a wagon. I also enclose you a list of the burghers of my upper ward; to those of the lower part I have written to receive personally from you, and trust that Field-cornet van Aard will hand you a list of his burghers; be so good and send it me as soon as possible The day before yesterday we took 30 draught oxen and 9 breeding cattle from the Kafirs, which they had stolen from Isaac Roberts at the Mancanzana; one ox they had killed, and a cow was severely wounded. I have also two horses here which were taken from two Kafirs the day before the above. I expect this day a general return of cattle stolen lately, and will forward the same to you by post.

I have to inform you that my Field-cornets have applied to me, to know how they are to conduct themselves in respect to the intolerable plunder of their cattle out of their kraals at night. Not being supplied with the necessary orders, I have taken it upon myself to issue orders to them to shoot whoever may disturb them at night, by taking their property out of their kraals, upon which I expect your speedy answer.

I must further inform you that I can no longer allow Kafirs, with or without passes, to pass in my ward, and also Mantatees and Fingoes without passes; and have thought proper to make it known in my ward that such are to be apprehended and brought before me, of which I will give you notice, in expectation of better protection for those subjects entrusted to your and my care, and who are at present living in a most deplorable condition. I wish to know if it be true that the Mantatee whom I sent to you a prisoner, with the report of the crime committed by him, has been liberated in the Kat River.

As it is inconvenient for me to confine prisoners here at night,

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without prison or hand-cuffs, I have, therefore, to request you to send me one or two.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) P. Retief, Field-Commandant.

A. B. Armstrong, Esq.

Fort Beaufort, 13th Oct., 1836.

Dear Sir,—I have received your letters, and forwarded translations of them to Colonel Somerset. I have given orders for a supply of ammunition to be forwarded according to the quantity as directed by Col. Somerset, and as specified in his letter to me, which you were so good as to forward me. Without Col. Somerset's orders, I cannot send you more.

Your exertions in apprehending Kafirs without passes have been very great. and shows you have been on the alert. I am confident Col. Somerset and the Lieutenant-Governor also, will adopt measures for prohibiting this great influx of Kafirs amongst the farmers in your neighbourhood; but I must, in the mean time, beg you will upon no account interrupt Kafirs who have passes.

With regard to the conduct of your patroles, the protection of your kraals, &c., Capt. Jervis, commanding, will be able to furnish you with a perusal of the frontier orders, as also a copy of the 49th and 73d Ord., which is all the information afforded me upon these subjects.

If you mean the Mantatee prisoner who was deranged, he has been sent to me; I have forwarded him to Graham's Town, from whence he will be sent on to Cape Town, as a lunatic. I will send a requisition for you to Capt. Campbell for hand-cuffs. If you ask Mr. Harding to write you one in English, I will approve it; you must sign it. State in the body of the requisition, that from the number of landloopers wandering about your part of the country you cannot keep them in safe custody when apprehended, unless supplied with hand-cuffs.

Yours truly,

A. B. Armstrong.

I have given Field-cornet Christian Vanard his complement of ammunition.

To Field-Commandant Retief, Winterberg,

Winterberg, 16th Oct. 1836.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 13th inst., by which I learn that I am not to apprehend any Kafirs having passes. Am I then to understand that if I, or my patrols in my ward, find Kafirs with passes for six or eight days, with which they wander about plundering for six months,—if we find Kafirs with passes for

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quite a different ward, and these are occupied in woods and hills in my ward building huts and congregating together, without any other prospect than solely to live by plunder, as I have sent and reported to you,—let me then now understand you clearly, am I not to cause such to be apprehended and sent to you? Is this to be the consequence? Then I must tell you plainly that we would do better at once to give up the little we yet have to subsist upon to the robbers spread all over the country, than to trouble ourselves further to remain masters of our property. And then I must ask you, whether we are to lead this barbarous life, or how we are to live? It is quite impossible for us to execute our daily labor, and then to watch against robbers both day and night.

I may also ask, why we are to endure the grief and vexation, that after the Kafirs have despoiled us of kindred and property, they are suffered to come to us, not only to rob us of the little that we yet have to subsist upon, but to taunt us in our impoverished situation; and to pride themselves upon the deeds of murder, fire, and plunder committed by them? What father or mother will silently endure this? And what deplorable deeds may not this give rise to? I, therefore, find myself under the necessity to state, that as long as I am to serve as a preserver of the peace and happiness of this ward, I must set myself against this influx; and if I am to suffer it, I shall be compelled to resign, not to burden my conscience with such weighty responsibility to the Almighty.

The indifference is to me incomprehensible, that by giving such passes *our* peace and happiness are not once thought of! It is also incomprehensible to us that there exists such weakness as to believe that the Kafirs, after they have robbed us of every thing, can yet have any claim upon us, and to grant them passes accordingly. From fear that *we* may injure the Kafirs, we are prohibited from personally going to them, to demand the restitution of our plundered property; but there appears to be no fear lest *we* should be injured by the influx of Kafirs into the colony.

As a lover of the public peace and prosperity, I trust in future to see that all Kafirs who have claims, or otherwise, on persons on our side, will not be allowed to proceed further than your post, and the persons required be summoned to your presence, and the case or question be decided before you. In acting thus it will be seen whether so many passes will be asked as at present.

I will console myself, and those connected with me, yet for a short period in our dejected situation, in expectation that our Lieutenant-Governor will soon let us see in deeds that which I have understood from His Honor both verbally and in writing: but if it be that we may not experience our long-expected wish of a better life, then I believe that with the greatest regret the abandonment of the colony will be the consequence,

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Col. Somerset, in giving the order for gunpowder which has been sent to you, stated that he trusted I would ask only as much gunpowder from you, as I considered necessary for my ward, and which I have done. I will not anticipate that from distrust no more than 1lb. will be ordered me. He who is not trusted cannot be a faithful servant. Heartily do I wish to know whether it is from distrust or any other cause, that we cannot procure a small quantity of gunpowder without so much trouble. Did I not see my subordinate burghers plunged into poverty, I would no longer ask, but cause it to be purchased. Well may I wish that it be more taken into consideration that we are inhabitants of a disturbed frontier, and that, next to GOD, we must depend upon our ammunition.

I trust I have discharged my duty to you as Justice of the Peace, and expect that you will do likewise.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) P. RETIEF, Field-Commandant.

21st Oct., 1836.

DEAR SIR,—I send you 152 lbs. loose powder, and a proportion of lead, also flints. The Kafir and Fingoe prisoners arrived here, but not the Hottentot man and woman; the escort said they knew nothing about them.

With respect to passes, and the apprehension of Kafirs with or without them, I beg leave to refer you to Capt. Jervis, commanding at Winterberg, who has been fully informed upon all these points.

I wish in cases of thefts alleged against Kafirs, Fingoes, or Hottentots, that you would send the evidences against them to me, as well as the prisoners, as soon after as possible, as it is not advisable to detain a prisoner above 48 hours in custody without a charge being preferred against him.

I remain, &c ,

A. B. ARMSTRONG.

To Field-Commandant Retief, Winterberg.

We have only to add to these melanchaly statements, that Mr. Retief has resolved to abandon the colony—to expatriate himself from the land of his birth—and to join his countrymen in what we must ever view as a rash and imminently dangerous experiment—that of penetrating the wilds of the interior, and exposing themselves to the attacks of innumerable hordes of savage barbarians.

To return to Natal itself.—The imprudent treaty with Dingaan, made by Capt. Gardiner relative to the surrender of fugitives, seems to have encouraged Dingaan to demand its entire fulfilment, and thus keep the settlement in a continual state of excitement. Upon a remonstrance of the Zoola chief,

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regarding some of his subjects, said to have been enticed to desert and harbored by the whites, the following proceedings took place :—

Port Natal, June 20th, 1836.

" At a meeting of the residents of Port Natal, Victoria, held this day, and to which the whole of the natives had been duly summoned ;

" Present,—Rev G. Champion, Dr. A Adams,* Messrs. Cane, Ogle, Pickman, Blankenbergh, Carden, Stubbs, Wood, Lake, Isaacs, King, White, Holstead, Toohey, and Steller.

" Mr. J. Cane, on being called to the chair, read to the meeting a letter from the Rev. Aldin Grout, and signed by Messrs. Kew and Russell, at the Tog-la River, informing him that the army of Dingaan had assembled and marched, but that the destination was for the present unknown ; and also stating that the entrance of the whites into the Zoola territory had been denied, on account of the people of Natal inducing the subjects of the King Dingaan to desert. That a man in the employ of Mr R. Biggar had a few days prior gone into one of the Zoola villages armed with a musket and bayonet, and taken from them by force some people, claiming them as his relations : and that another man in the employ of the same person had also made a similar attempt ;—that the King's messenger had left to inform his master, highly excited, as doubtless Dingaan would be the same ; and stating it as their joint opinion that nothing but the restoration of deserters would restore the whites in the confidence of the King Dingaan.

" After which it was unanimously resolved,—

" 1.—That all those who have recently absconded from the territory of Dingaan, be collected and returned, with an agent from the people of Natal, who shall be the bearer of a communication from them and signed by them—all assuring Dingaan of their disposition to fulfil the obligations of the treaty entered into while Capt. Gardiner was here ; and that Dr. Adams and John Cane be empowered to present the same to Dingaan.

" That any person residing in Port Natal, or its vicinity, detected in aiding or assisting any subject of Dingaan in escaping from their own territory, shall be arrested and sent to Dingaan, without any distinction of person whatever.

" 3.—That no native residing with us or amongst us, be permitted to cross the Togala River, unless in the company of a white man, who will be held responsible to Dingaan and the people of Natal for his or their conduct.

* Dr, Adams, and the Rev. G. Champion, are two intelligent and pious American Missionaries, still settled at Natal.

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"4.—That every native, or any fugitive or stranger, arriving at the village in which he resides, shall within 24 hours report to the white man under whose protection he has placed himself, or in his absence to some other white man, such arrival, under the forfeiture of the one half of the whole of his property.

"5.—That any native aggrieved by the conduct of any white man, may report his case to any other white resident, who, if he think the case sufficiently serious, shall call a meeting of the whites present at Natal, to investigate the merits of the case, and we pledge ourselves to abide by their decision.

"6.—That a committee of nine members be thus appointed to form a committee of public safety, and in case of actual invasion, we collectively and individually pledge ourselves to obey its decrees.

"The above resolutions were then read and explained to the assembled natives, in the presence of all the white people, who were at the same time informed, that they this day witnessed our unanimity, and that it was our firm determination to enforce these our resolutions, with the greatest rigor.

Subsequently, however, both traders and missionaries were forced to yield full obedience to the savage mandates of the barbarian chief, and involve themselves in that despot's quarrels.

The first compact party of Dutch emigrants who left the Colony determined to settle down beyond its limits, was under the guidance of a Louis Trechard, an Albany Farmer, shortly after the cessation of the Kafir war. They located themselves in a fertile and uninhabited tract between the 26° and 27° parallel of S. Latitude on the eastern bank of a large and beautiful river. The fate of this unfortunate pioneering expedition was ascertained on a visit of the *Comet*, a vessel which visited De la Goa Bay in June of this year:—

"At Delagoa Bay we met with the unhappy remains of Louis Trechard's party, consisting when they left the colony of 13 families. Only two married men, Trechard and his son, survived the ravages of war and the destructive influence of the climate. Some widows and children remain, but nearly all the party, Trechard and his son excepted, are afflicted with the fever incident to the climate. Many have been carried off by it, and in the short space of three weeks that the *Comet* was in the harbour. three souls passed into eternity. About a week before we arrived, Louis Trechard's wife

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died, and the son's wife was buried while we were there at her side. We left nearly all sick, without any hope of help from man, and as there is no one at the bay who has any knowledge of medicine. The Portuguese are very kind to them, They sent an escort to conduct them to the town, where houses are freely opened for their reception. About nine families separated from Trechard, and every soul of them was murdered by the savage tribes through which they passed, particularly by that of Sochaugan, a chief tributary to Dingaan. Trechard's party was attacked by the Mantatees and other tribes at five different times, generally in the night, but they escaped without loss. I saw the bow and poisoned arrows of a chief of the Mantatees, whom young Trechard shot, a body of 60 having fallen on them in the night. One would think that surely these dispensations of providence ought to make them look back with deep regret on their unhappy and unadvised pilgrimage. Trechard the son, was anxious to join his fellow-countrymen, and fight with them. He would have taken his passage to Natal, if the captain* had determined to touch there. They have immense flocks and herds; still their condition was truly pitiable; indeed it was almost hopeless, as there is every reason to expect that they will all die, one after another, of the fever."

The few survivors were afterwards removed to Natal by sea.

About the end of May two parties, headed by J. G. S. Bronkhorst and H. Potgieter, left the camp formed by some of the emigrants on the Vet River, one of the tributaries of the Ky Gariep, for the purpose of exploring the country to the N E., of which journey, and of the first repulse the emigrants met with from the natives under Malzellikatze the following is Bronkhorst's own relation:—

On the 24th May I departed from the Sand River, accompanied by the Burghers, Roelof Jansen, Laurens Jansen van Vuuren. Charel Cilliers, and Abraham Zwanepoel; together with another group, consisting of the Burghers, H. Potgieter, J. Roberts, Adrian de Lange, Daniel Opperman, H Mieuwenhuison, and Christian Liebenberg. From the Sand River we travelled through a grass field 12 *schofts** and came to a ridge, which we, on finding the real sugar cane there, called the *Suikerbosch-rand;* fuel was scarce. From thence we proceeded four schofts further, and reached the Oliphant's River; here was no fuel whatever, but abundance of water and grass, the grass being sour, but still good for pasture. Two schofts from

* Schofts, the plural of schoft, a days' journey.

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there we arrived at the Rhenoster Poort on the Rondberg; here the country is rugged, with sweet and sour grass, stocked with thorn trees. From thence we travelled 2½ schofts through grass fields, and came to a rugged plain, covered with all kinds of grass, until we came to the Zoutpansberg in 13 schofts, where we found a salt-pan. At the Rhenoster-poort we met the first nation, called Mantatees. At the Zoutpansberg we met the Burgher Louis Trechard, and company, all in good health. Proceeding on our journey we saw at the distance of two schofts from Trechard, trees, the leaves whereof I cannot describe as they were blooming and very young; they sprouted from the ground with a thick trunk, and are the size of an oak; the trunk of these trees have many roots; from the tree itself many roots issue, descending downwards, entwining themselves to the body of the tree, as if they were tied to it, until they are again rooted into the ground; the trees bear no fruit,—the bark is white. It is supposed that each branch of the tree produces a sprig, straight or oblique, as it grows.

About three schofts from thence we found another tree, yielding a fruit resembling a cocoa nut or gourd, the peel having also a similar appearance; the fruit is hollow inside; the kernel cannot be distinguished from cream of tartar, it being of the same stuff and taste; the tree has a large size; we measured one and found it to be of 13 fathoms in circumference, and 20 feet high to its crown; the tree had no leaves; the bark and wood had much the appearance of a *Spekboem*, Proceeding further we saw several other trees with and without fruit, and amongst others a tree serving the people of the country for food and drink; it is a large tree resembling an oak, having a green bark like that of a peach tree; the leaf I cannot describe, as it resembles no known one, but has something of a yellow-wood tree; the fruit is like a cherry; we did not taste it, as being unripe; we saw the people chop off branches, from which a liquid issued which they caught in basins; they cook buffalo skins to glue, mix it with the liquid, and it becomes a sort of curdled milk which they use: they also make a sort of beer from it. We also found a tree, much like that of an apricot, its fruit having a great resemblance to a lentil, the stone and pod having a similar appearance, but larger; the stone is soft; it has the true smell of turpentine, and is oily. I must also mention that we found the banana tree 1½ schofts from Trechard, along the river and at other places in abundance; it is the real banana; we also found a large grove of bamboo growing in abundance and luxurious; the above grove is half an hour's ride on horseback in circumference. 9 schofts from Trechard we reached a river of running water, about 2 feet deep, and 1780 paces broad; the banks of the river are stocked with trees which I cannot describe; they are beautiful—they are large; the lower part of the trunk is smooth until where its branches issue;

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under its shade 6 or 7 wagons may be placed; it has a small green leaf, the fruit resembles an acorn, but was then unripe. One schoft from there we again crossed a large river, and found similar trees; thence we proceeded 6 schofts farther, and came to the Knopneus (Knob nose) Caffers, being, with the exception of one, the last Caffer Captain; they pointed to a town about 6 schofts from there; we also spoke with the servants of the town inhabitants, who came there to barter elephant's teeth for beads, linen, and other wares; they also informed us of there being ships waiting for elephants' teeth. The people from that town spoke Portuguese. They said that our approach was known in their town. These men were glad of our arrival, and shewed us much respect, fell upon their knees, clapped with the hands on saluting us, and offered us lasting peace. From there we returned, as our horses and oxen began to give up. The Caffers accompanied us a great way, and showed us a road much nearer than the one we came. It is a defenceless and unwarlike people, always flying before their assailants; many perish from want. They state having been robbed of their cattle by Matselikatze. We likewise met there two sons of Coenraad Buis, named Doris and Karel, they received their ammunition from that Town. The Kafirs called us Dutchmen, in their language, Magaos. The above are, to the best of my knowledge, a few particulars of the country we have travelled through. The climate is rather hot, and little difference between summer and winter, vegetables growing every where spontaneously and luxuriously. We were there in the month of July; saw all kinds of fruit in full growth and blossom, and got from the gardens sweet-potatoes, millets, and various vegetables There is abunndance of water to irrigate the ground, and one might also say not sufficient land for the number of fountains; a large town might be founded if there were a sufficient number of inhabitants; each erf might have its own supply of water. Everything offers the finest opportunity for a settlement. Timber is abundant, the waste land large and extensive, so that thousands of families might subsist, it being also well adapted for breeding of cattle. We further found among the Mantatees a great quantity of iron forged by themselves; the iron is of good quality, and mixed with steel; they pointed to a small ridge to the south, where they melt, forge, and make spears of it, and then barter it to the Knopneus (Knobnose) Caffers for beads and other wares. The people also showed us a mine, from which they extract gold, and make rings, which I have seen; we have also brought some of the ore with us; this mine is just opposite the camp of Louis Trechard on the *Zoutpansberg*. We also found at the first nation we fell in with good tin, which they extract from the Randberg and make rings of, calling it white iron. At Oliphant's River we saw banks of a kind of stuff resembling leaves, having the color of silver; it is

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tough, and hard to separate, but I did not see anything forged or melted from it. There is also all kinds of game. From the Suiker-bosch-rand we saw elephants all along our route. At the Vaale and Oliphant's Rivers we saw numbers of rhinoceros, buffalos, sea-cows, and black bucks with white bellies, a white stripe on the buttocks, and a star on the head, they are of the size of a hartebeest (deer); likewise cross-breed koedoes and gemsbucks; also the red buck and other known game in abundance.

We returned to our Camp, and reached it on the 2d September, but found it in a sad state. When we were a third part of a schoft on this side of Trechard, we sent five men, named C. Liebenberg, R. Jansen, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, and A Zwanepoel, in advance to get fresh relays. Coming to the first camp they saw a wagon in the river; D. Opperman rode thither while the others off-saddled, and on coming there he saw two wagons fastened together; he returned with the tidings that our camp presented a bloody scene; they all then rode thither, and found Mr. Liebenberg, Sen., and the wife of H. Liebenberg lying dead; there were also several corpses which they could not identify. They returned to us the same afternoon with this sad account; five of us then rode thither, and found the killed to be B. Liebenberg, Sen., Johannes du Toit and wife, H. Liebenberg, Jun. and wife, S. Liebenberg and a male child, MacDonald a schoolmaster, and a son of C. Liebenberg. We then could do nothing there followed the spoor of our camp, and reached it the third day; we found the survivors and part of our cattle. The account here was equally melancholy. My son, G. Bronkhorst, R. J, Bronkhorst, and a son of Christian Liebenberg, named Barend, were missing, and not yet found. We found the son of Christian Harmse killed; we then learnt how the sad disaster had occurred: they began by killing Stephanus Erasmus, who, with 8 others, were shooting at a distance; four of them escaped, namely, Stephanus Erasmus and son, and Pieter Bekker and son; and 2 sons of Erasmus, Johannes Clasens, and Karel Kruger, are missing; the Caffers took all their wagons and goods; they attacked us without the least provocation; Erasmus brought the first report that the Caffers were murdering. Ten of us then rode towards them, sueing for peace, but the Caffers drove them back to the camp; the killed persons were separate, and not in the great camp; a party of Caffers divided and murdered them, while the other party fought against the camp.

There were only 35 men in the camp who fought against the Caffers. They succeeded in repulsing them, killing several. Thence we retreated four schofts backwards to this side of the Vaal River, where the Caffers attacked us a second time. The Mantatees informed us three days previous that the Caffers of Matzelikatze were pursuing us, some of whom went to spy but did not discover them;

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the next day 35 men left the camp, and met the Caffers (about 9,000) an hours' distance on horseback from the camp; we sued for peace through an interpreter, shewing them our hair, as a sign that we did not wish to war with them, and that they should retire: they cried out no, and attacked us immediately, while we retreated, fighting to the camp, where a peace-flag was set up. We reached the camp sooner than the enemy, and had scarcely time to clean our guns; they had in the mean while approached our camp to within 500 paces; halted, killed two of our oxen, and consumed them raw. Ferociously and with great cries they stormed the camp, but could not enter as the wagons were drawn into a circle, and the openings closed with thorn branches;—between the wagon wheels and above the coverings we were obliged to shoot them, to prevent their entering. We conquered and repulsed the enemy after a great loss on their side, while we had two killed and twelve wounded. More than 1000 assegaais were found in the camp. The killed are Nicholaas Potgieter and Piet Botha. This took place on the 29th October, 1836, when we lost 6000 head of cattle, and 41,000 sheep and goats. Our horses we retained from having been in the camp.

Three days after this we followed them to try whether we could retake any of our cattle, but all we found were killed and skinned (about 1000 head), and were obliged to return unsatisfied.

What I have here related are facts, and am willing, if required, to confirm the same on oath.

(Signed) J. G. S. BRONKHORST,

The barbarities of the natives on this occasion, inflicted upon the poor self-expatriated farmers and their families, were horrible:—

"Not even satisfied with stabbing their welted broad-spears into the bosoms of unresisting women, or piercing the bodies of infants who clung to them, they cut off the breasts of some of the women, and took several of the poor little helpless babes by the heels and dashed out their brains against the iron bands of the wagon wheels."

It was no wonder, therefore, that atrocities like these should be visited with a fearful retribution.

A portion of the emigrants now remained with the wreck of their late flourishing camp, whilst others placed their wives and children under the protection of the Rev. Mr. Archbell's missionary station at Thaba Unchu for a short period, and then fell back upon a new station at the source of the Modder

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River. Here they were soon reinforced by a large party under Gert Maritz, a wealty Burgher of Graaff-Reinet, who had been elected Governor-General. The number of emigrants, at this time assembled around Thaba Unchu, is computed at above eighteen hundred souls.

These attacks by Malzelikatze have been attempted to be excused, as arising from precautionary measures on his part, against the ravages of a notorious and successful freebooter, Jan Bloem, and other predatory bands of *Griquas*, and have also been defended on the ground that the emigrants had entered territories of right belonging to the chief, and by a route which he had warned them not to take. This, however, is not the case: they were attacked in a direction opposite to that in which the freebooter and his clans were accustomed to approach---full fifteen days' march from the residence of Malzellikatze—away from any part of the country over which he claimed authority, either by occupancy or conquest, a conquest too, by the bye, which he had only lately achieved, after relentlessly butchering all its inhabitants—the mild and timid Bechuanas. The right of the Boers, therefore, to this territory were not inferior to his own in the period or manner of acquisition.

The close of the year 1836 saw Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom occupied in the total reversal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's measures—signing the most mischievous treaties with the Kafir chiefs, based, as they were, upon the false assumption that they were really justified in the late invasion and cruelty of the retaliatory war, into which the Colony had been forced. Moreover, actually rewarding them for their late atrocious conduct, by surrendering a large portion of territory, ceded by the Kafirs in 1819, from which however was *carefully excepted* that part, including His Honor's own landed property, the magnificent Kaga estate, the first slice ever granted to a Colonist out of what he now affected to consider Kafir possessions.

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The treaties, too, which the Lieut.-Governor then entered into with the chiefs, and which, when he left Cape Town, he had been only authorized *to prepare and frame for reference to the Council,* he madly and impertinently at once concluded, by placing the tribes in possession of the lands he had ceded without that reference ; so that there remained nothing for the supreme government at the Cape to do but to ratify them or incur the risk of a renewal of hostilities—an event which would have been immediately taken advantage of by the anti-colonial party and been ruinous to the Colony.

That the abrogation of the D'Urban system of relations with the Kafir tribes, would be followed by disatisfaction and an extensive migration from the Colony, Sir Benjamin himself predicted *three several times,* so that ignorance of the probable result of the reversal of his measures cannot be pleaded by those (whether the home or local government) who have hurried on the present fearful crisis. In a despatch of Sir Benjamin's to Lord Glenelg occur the following important passages :—

I shall await the arrival of Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, without proceeding any further than to obey that portion of your Lordship's commands in the despatch which directs me to prepare the public mind for the relinquishment of the newly acquired province by the end of the present year; an information, indeed, scarcely necessary, since the intention of your Lordship in that regard seems to have been known here (I have reason to believe *through the medium of the London Mission*) before I had received your Lordship's despatch of December last on the subject.

That this will be speedily followed by *an extensive abandoment* of Albany and Somerset on the part of the farmers, as *predicted* in my despatch of the *19th June,* 1835, *and 23d March last,* I see too much ground for believing. They had considered themselves left without protection for several years previous to the Caffer War in the end of 1834, in the middle of which year they had been rendered still less secure by the abrogation of the Ordinance No. 99, and they were much excited by the Slave Emancipation Act, but *they still lingered* in the hope of their grievances being remedied, when the war banished all these heart-burnings for the moment.

After the proclamation annexing the country between the Keiskamma and the Kye to the Colony, *seeing in that measure* a

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promise of more efficient protection, *they relinquished generally their purpose of emigration*, and awaited events, hoping compensation for their losses, or compensation for their slaves and for greater security of person and of property. Very soon, however, one of the colonial journals (the *Commercial Advertiser*, already adverted to in the earlier part of this despatch) asserted that this change of boundary would not be confirmed by His Majesty's government, and these assertions were otherwise disseminated by the party of which that paper is the organ.

These reports appear again to have awakened the apprehensions of the border farmers and disposed them to *resume their intentions of emigration*. Still they have awaited, and still hoped for some intimation that their losses would receive compensation; but now when they well know that the new province is actually to be renounced at the end of the year, and despair (as they well may, since no hope has been afforded them from His Majesty's government) of any compensation for their losses, *they will assuredly again prepare to go away, and the order for evacuating Adelaide will be the signal for their departure to seek their fortunes in the interior of the country*.

I have long endeavored, by every means in my power, to combat this propensity by persuasions spread among them through the medium of Colonel Somerset and others known to have influence over them, (FOR YOUR LORDSHIP IS DOUBTLESS AWARE THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL POWER TO DETAIN THEM AGAINST THEIR WILL) and these persuasions have induced them to delay the execution of their designs and hitherto still to await events. But the feeling of insecurity in the FISH RIVER BOUNDARY, to which I have especially adverted in my despatch of the 19th June, *will at once cause an extensive emigration*, along the whole Albany and Somerset border, or I am much mistaken.—*Vide return Caffer War, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed*, 12*th July* 1837.

It is sufficiently well known, too, that Sir Benjamin D'Urban, when the treaties of the Lt.-Governor, Sir A. Stockenstrom, entered into in December, 1836, were in preparation, had disapproved of them altogether, and raised his voice, although ineffectually, against them. 1. That he then denounced the whole system which they embraced, as one which would infallibly involve the border provinces again in all the troubles, and the perils of life and property, which had preceded the war of 1834—5, and as a course of policy which,

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assuredly as certain causes must produce certain effects, was pregnant with insecurity, disorder, and danger.

2. That he exposed the fallacy of the main principle, upon which the Treaties were founded, the abandonment, namely, of the old Eastern frontier line of the Keiskamma and Chumie, as it had existed since 1819—the substitution, first, of that of the Fish and Kat Rivers—the virtual renunciation of British sovereignty and dominion in the country between those lines of rivers—the introduction of the Kafir hordes of the Amakosa to locations upon the very banks of the latter, and the establishment of the permanent residence of these savage and predatory people in the forests through which they run, skirting the new Colonial Frontier, and in close contact with it along its whole extent.

3. That he had disapproved their provisions as not comprehending those securities* which he had regarded as indispensible, and had accordingly urged upon the Lieut.-Governor's

* These securities were specified under seven heads :—

1st.—The protection and integrity of our new border, its inhabitants, and their property.

2d.—The safety and protection of the missionaries who may desire hereafter to remain in Kafirland.

3d.—The safety and protection of the British traders who may be permitted to enter Kafirland, together with a due restraint upon the proceedings of these traders.

4th.—The protection of the Fingoe race, now become His Majesty's subjects, and located within the British territory, and the integrity of their locations.

5th.—The safety and protection of the tribes and family of Congo, (Pato, Kama, Kobus) our faithful friends and allies, and the integrity of their locations.

6th.—The safety and protection of Sutu and her son Sandili, and their family; Matua and Tinto and theirs; Nonube, and her son Siwani, and theirs; Umgabi and his family; Jan Tzatzoe and his family, with integrity of their possessions; all of whom deserved our protection by their conduct during the war, and to all of whom it was secured firmly by the Treaties of September, 1835.

7th.—As far as it may be possible, peace and good understanding between the respective native tribes whose allegiance to His Majesty, and obedience to our laws are now about to cease; with their abstinence from wars, and inroads among each other, and the abolition of all proceedings under the pretence of witch-craft, all which were carefully provided for by the Treaties of September, 1835.

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attention, and which had been effectually provided for in the previous treaties of Sept., 1835, alike for the benefit of all parties concerned—colonists, friendly Kafirs, Fingoes, and the Amakosa Kafirs themselves.

4. And that looking forward to the inevitable consequences of these great defects in the system about to be adopted, he had predicted, with a fatal accuracy, the intolerable evils which have resulted from their adoption.

The abandonment of the D'Urban system now converted the partial migration of the Dutch Farmers into a general movement, the real causes of which are thus well described by a gentlemen who cannot be charged, as the colonists have been, by the philanthropic party in England, and in the colony, as prejudiced by long residence, and with a direct interest in the oppression of the Aborigines :—

" The abandonment of the Cape colony by the old Dutch inhabitants, to which I have so frequently had occasion to allude, and which has in fact become completely interwoven with the thread of my narrative, has no parrellel in the history of British colonial possessions. Partial emigrations are by no means uncommon, as the existence of the colony itself sufficiently prove, but here is an instance of a body of between five and six thousand souls, who have with one accord abandoned the land of their nativity, and the home of their forefathers, endeared to them by every interesting association, and have recklessly plunged into the pathless wilds of the interior, braving the perils and hardships of the wilderness, and many of them already in the vale of years, seeking for themselves another dwelling place in a strange and inhospitable soil.

" The first question that presents itself must naturally be what has led to so extraordinary an expatriation ? The losses to which they have been subjected by the emancipation of their slaves ; the absence of laws for their protection from the evils of uncontrolled vagrancy, and from the depredations of the swarm of vagabonds by which the colony is infested, but above all the insecure state of the Eastern frontier, and the inadequate protection afforded by the English Governments against the aggressions of their wily and restless Kafir neighbours, by whose repeated predatory incursions the fairest spots have been laid desolate, and many hundreds of the border colonists reduced to ruin, are the inciting causes assigned by the emigrants for the unprecedented and hazardous step they have taken.

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It is impossible to view the violent remedy sought by these oppressed but misguided men in other than a criminal light, yet no unprejudiced person who has visited the more remote districts of this unhappy colony will hesitate to acknowledge that the evils they complain of actually exist. Long subjected to the pilferings of a host of Hottentot vagrants, whose lives are passed in one perpetual round of idleness, delinquency, and brutish intoxication on the threshhold of the gin shop, the South-African settler has lately, in too many instances, been reduced from comparative affluence to want, by being unseasonably and without adequate compensation bereft of the services of his slaves, who prone to villainy, and no longer compelled to labor, have only served to swell the swarm of drones by which it is his destiny to be persecuted. Far greater than these, however, are the evils that have arisen out of the perverse misrepresentations of canting and designing men, to whose mischievous and gratuitous interference, veiled under the cloak of philanthropy, is principally to be attributed, the desolated condition of the Eastern frontier, bounded as it is by a dense and almost impregnable jungle, to defend which nine times the military force now employed would barely be adequate, and flanked by a population of eighty thousand dire irreclaimable savages, naturally inimical, warlike, and predatory, by whom the hearths of the Cape border colonists have for years past been deluged with the blood of their nearest and dearest relatives. And whilst during the unprovoked inroads of these ruthless barbarians—their wives and helpless offspring have been mercilessly butchered before their eyes—whilst their corn-fields have been laid waste, their flocks swept off, and their houses reduced to ruin—to add bitterness to gall they have been taunted as the authors of their own misfortunes, by those who, strangely biassed by *ex parte* statements, have judged them unheard at the distance of several thousand miles from the scene of pillage, bloodshed, and devastation.

" It does, indeed, furnish matter of amazement to every thinking person, how such a state of things should so long have been suffered to exist—how those who have legislated for the affairs of the colony should not long ago have seen the imperious necessity, dictated alike by reason, justice, and humanity of exterminating from off the face of the earth a race of monsters, who, being the unprovoked destroyers and unplacable foes of Her Majesty's Christian subjects, have forfeited every claim to mercy or consideration. Denied redress, however, and deprived of the power of avenging themselves of the wrongs under which they have writhed, its utter hopelessness of recovering their property, or even enjoying future tranquility, the border colonists have at length thrown off the yoke of their allegiance, and whilst seeking out for themselves an asylum in other lands, are now retorting upon our allies the injuries they have so long sus-

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tained at their hands."—*Captain Harris' H.E.I.C.S. Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa.*

The writer of the foregoing remarks, blames, and not without reason, the Government, for not having redressed the wrongs of the colonists, and thus put a stop to the true and early causes of that emigration. It should, however, in palliation of the conduct of the Government, be remembered that there was a powerful anti-colonial party within the colony itself, led on by the Rev. Dr. John Philip, and most ably championised by his son-in-law, Mr. John Fairbairn, the Editor of the "South African Commercial Advertiser," who not only represented the aborigines *alone* as the sufferers, but all along denied the facts of any extensive migration whatever, and even so late as the month of February, 1837, when thousands of our farmers "were over the border," laughed to scorn the idea of any numbers having left the colony, restricting these to *one hundred and fifty souls*, who he tried to represent were disgusted and disappointed, and who would gladly return to the country they had so madly abandoned.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the philanthropic public, and the Government at home, should be misled by representations, when made by such a supposed immaculate and certainly influential authority, which knew, however, at the time they were hollow, unsubstantial, and false. How little gifted with prophecy, too, was the same oracle, when it issued its solemn dictum at this time, that there was "utter incapacity of the leaders of the emigrants for achieving anything formidable or permanent in the interior."* The utter extinction of two of the greatest native nations in the southern peninsula, by the emigrant arms, those of Matzelekatze and Dingaan, and the present untoward resistance to British arms and rule, prove, on the contrary, "the utter incapacity" of the Editor of the *Advertiser* and his party to appreciate either the motives, or to understand the history of one of the most extraor-

* South African Commercial Advertiser, 11th February, 1837.

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dinary and unfortunate movements which have been made in any colony of any Government that has ever existed. It is representations like those which have deceived both the Home and Colonial Governments, and led them to the fatal error of disregarding the wrongs, and holding the power of the emigrants at far too cheap a rate.

A.D. 1837.

Retief soon followed his countrymen after the close of his correspondence with Lt.-Governor Stockenstrom, leaving behind him a MANIFESTO, purporting to represent the real causes of the expatriation of himself and the colonial farmers :—

MANIFESTO OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS.

Numerous reports having been circulated throughout the colony, evidently with the intention of exciting in the minds of our countrymen a feeling of prejudice against those who have resolved to emigrate from a colony where they have experienced for so many years past a series of the most vexatious and severe losses ; and as we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, and are anxious that they and the world at large should believe us incapable of severing that sacred tie which binds a christian to his native soil, *without the most sufficient reasons*, we are induced to record the following summary of our motives for taking so important a step ; and also our intentions respecting our proceedings towards the Native Tribes which we may meet with beyond the boundary.

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part ; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have ever endured from the Kafirs and other colored classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts, and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all

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evidence in our favor; and we can foresee as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we quit this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than we have heretofore done. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known, that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our future guidance, copies shall be forwarded to the colony for general information; but we take this opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment of any traitors who may be found amongst us.

8. We purpose, in the course of our journey, and on arriving at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly to obey.

By authority of the farmers who have quitted the colony,

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

To return to affairs with the emigrants:—

Mauritz's first step after assuming the reins of government, was to assemble a force for the purpose of retaliating upon the Amazooloo monarch, the injuries that the emigrants had received at his hands. On the 3d of January, 1837, a commando, consisting of 107 Dutch farmers, 40 of Peter David's mounted Griquas, and 60 armed savages on foot, left Thaba Uncha on their march to invade Matselekatze's country, under the guidance of a warrior, who having been taken prisoner in the affair of the 29th October, durst never again present himself before his royal master. Keeping considerably to the Westward of North, they crossed the head of the Hart

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river, and struck into the Kuruman road—by this masterly manœuvre approaching the Matibili from the very quarter whence they were least prepared to expect an attack. A lovely and fertile valley, bounded on the North and North-east by the Kurrichane mountains, and in form resembling a basin of ten or twelve miles in circumference, contained the military town of Mosega, and fifteen others of Matselikatz's principal kraals, in which, resided Kalipe and a large portion of the fighting men. To this spot were the steps of the emigrant farmers directed. As the first streaks of light ushered in the eventful morning of the 17th of January, Mauritz's little band suddenly and silently emerged from a pass in the hills behind the houses of the American missionaries,—and ere the sun had reached the zenith, the bodies of 400 chosen Matibili warriors—the flower of barbarian chivalry, garnished the blood-stained valley of Mosega. Not a creature was aware of the approach of danger, and the entrance of a rifle ball by one of the bed-room windows, was the first intimation received by the missionaries of the impending onslaught.

So perfect were the military dispositions which the information afforded by the captive had suggested, that the valley was completely invested, and no avenue of escape remained. The Matibili flew to arms at the first alarm and bravely defended themselves—but were shot like sparrows as fast as they appeared outside of the enclosure—nor did they succeed in perforating the leathern doublet of a single Dutchman.—*Harris' Narrative.*

The origin and conquests of the chief MATZELLIKATZE, designated by Captain Harries, as "THE LION OF THE NORTH," has been thus narrated :—

"His father, it seems, was a chief whose territory lay at some distance to the N. E. of Natal. Being attacked and totally defeated by a neighboring tribe, he fled, and sought and obtained refuge from Chaka, the late King of the Zoolahs, and predecessor of the reigning chief Dingaan. Here he remained till his death in a servile state, resembling that of the Fingoes amongst the Kafirs. Matsellikatse succeeded, however, in gaining the favor and confidence of Chaka, and in process of time was entrusted by him with the command of a kraal or out-station, and with the charge of a large number of cattle. *To this trust he proved faithless.* He revolted, and fled with his people and the booty towards the northwest, attacking and utterly destroying successively in his progress numerous tribes which then occupied that country. In this manner he soon became formidable,—his very name inspiring terror throughout a vast region of country. Having completely subjugated or destroyed every tribe from whose opposition he had any thing to dread, he ultimately selected the country near the sources of the Malopoo and

other streams for his permanent residence. Here he reigned the terror of the surrounding region, governing his people in the most despotic, capricious, and cruel manner. Their principal weapon is the assagai, which however is not thrown as with the Kafirs, but is used for stabbing, hence they never skirmish, but rush at once upon an enemy, This mode of fighting is so terrible to the unwarlike Bechuanas and others, that they are affrighted at the very name of this chief, and one of his warriors is a match for a score of them. The country over which he claimed sovereignty is of great extent, and of a diversified character. Water is rather scarce, except in the basin—about ten ot twelve miles in circumfeience—which contains the sources of the Moloopo and lesser streams, that flow into the Marica,—a river which, after taking a course for some distance in a northerly direction, makes a sudden bend to the east, and is supposed to fall into the sea near Delagoa Bay. Near this spot is a ridge not remarkable for elevation or character, which separates the waters that flow respectively into the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. On one side of this ridge all the streams take a course to the north or west, and on the other in the opposite direction. The tract of country comprised in the basin referred to is supposed to be equal, either for beauty or fertility, to any part of South Africa."

The arrival of the Dutch farmers from the Colony, was now most anxiously looked forward to by the English settlers at Natal,—the more especially as Dingaan, by some supposed intrigue of Captain Gardener, had shut up the trade, and it was believed, seriously meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of the Port—the more particularly as the American missionary, the Rev. G. Champion, had been told by Dingaan that Capt. Gardiner had represented them as a set of rascals who ought to be disarmed.

The British settlers appear to have indulged, at this time, in the chimerical idea of establishing at Natal, what the Boers are at this time essaying, namely, an *independent form of government*, as is evident from the following extract of a letter from an influential member of the community there, addressed to Mr. B. Norden, dated the 2d of May, 1837, and published in the *Graham's Town Journal*, on the 22d of June following:—

We hourly expect to hear from the Boers. *When they arrive we intend to form an internal government of our own, free from*

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the false measures and wavering policy of the neighbouring colony, and I have no doubt but that every thing will then go on smoothly.

Whatever guilt, therefore, there is in the conception of the idea of revolt and separation from the parent state, must, consequently, not be *exclusively* placed against the Dutch emigrants—but the English deserve to share in some proportion with the later comers driven from the Colony by misrule, while the English left it from choice, and without any of the excuses of the unfortunate and infatuated Boers.

The amiable, but ill-fated, Retief, arrived among his expatriated countrymen in April, and the following account is given of his reception and elevation to the supreme authority, by an eye-witness of the most credible authority.

"On the 8th of April Mr. Maritz and one of his Heemraden rode from the camp of the emigrant farmers, in a horse-wagon, to meet Mr. Retief, who was a considerable distance off, the farmers having signified their intention of electing him their head. After considerable reluctance Mr. Retief at length consented, and accompanied Maritz to the camp. Immediately on his arrival, public meetings were convened by the farmers, who were then divided into two parties, and he was unanimously chosen as their chief by both: No evasion on his part would satisfy them. He brought to their notice that they might probably regret the step they were about to take, as he would never suffer the laws of civilized society to be violated,—but would severely punish all crimes against the community,—and would especially most rigidly enforce the divine precept "Whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." To this they all expressed their approbation. Mr, Retief, much affected at the imposing scene before him, then addressed them at considerable length. He brought to their notice the immense responsibility they had placed upon him; he was himself but a frail mortal, but from the unanimity of feeling shewn, he recognized the hand of God in what had taken place, to whom it would be his duty to supplicate for strength to discharge his trust for the well-being of the community.

"Mr. Retief lost no time in re-uniting the two parties, in which he succeeded. He is now busily engaged in framing regulations for establishing and supporting public worship according to the system of their forefathers, viz; the Dutch Reformed Church. He has also been employed in concluding and ratifying treaties of peace between the farmers and several of the native tribes. Three powerful

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chiefs have already united with him in friendship, viz.—Maroko, Towaana, and Sinkjala,—and it appears that the treaties mentioned have been most gladly received by these tribes.

" One of the Captains of the Bastards, named Pieter Dafits, has also visited Mr. R. at Vet River, and departed from him highly satisfied with what he had heard and seen, promising to spare no trouble in bringing as many of the other Captains as he could meet to the Vet River, immediately, to ratify similar treaties with the farmers as had been done by the native chiefs.

" We have the liveliest hope that Mr. Retief will attain his desire of restoring the blessings of peace and security to a country, which we have been compelled for so many years to view as the scene of the most atrocious murders and robberies. One article of his treaties is to the following purport,—" *That upon any grievance being committed against any of the contracting chiefs, the aggrieved party shall inform the others thereof. These shall immediately cause enquiry to be made into the circumstances, and the party complained against being found guilty, and refusing to make satisfactory compensation to the aggrieved, shall be compelled thereto by the said contracting chiefs.*"

" We understand that Mr. R. intends to proceed from the Vet River to some of the Coranna Captains, on the complaint of Maroko, that the former were preparing for a plundering expedition against him (Maroko): and we fear for the Corannas, unless they should in good faith enter into similar treaties. We know, however, that it will be a difficult task for them to refrain from plundering the natives.

" According to the latest accounts it appears that Matsellikatse is not yet disposed to permit the emigrants to continue their journey peaceably; in consequence of which Mr. Retief has made arrangements to pay him a speedy visit;—and, we understand, he will give him the option of meeting him either as a friend or an enemy. The commando of farmers to go out against this chief, it is said, will consist of 500 men, who were to have started on the 1st of June. Maroko, Towaana, Sinkajala, and a portion of Bastards and Corannas have already offered to unite their strength with Mr. R. for the object in view; this Mr. R. declined; he has, however, requested that Maroko, Towaana, Sinkajala, and Masoes, will accompany the commando personally to Matsellikatse, to which they have all agreed. We understand that these chiefs are to point out to Mr. R. the country from which they have severally been driven by the despot Matsellikatse, and of which they have complained so bitterly. We doubt not but Mr. R. will do them great service, if they behave as they ought to do.

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"As regards the apprentices, (late slaves) care has been taken that they shall receive their freedom as they would have done had they remained in the colony All cases of ill-treatment against apprentices or other colored persons are to be rigorously punished.

"Mr. R. has taken care to provide that none of the native tribes which they may meet in the progress of their journey shall be molested or injured in any manner. We also find that Mr, R. is making inquiries whether the British government intends putting a stop to a free trade with us from the colony, but which we do not care much about. We leave that to the English merchants, who will soon learn to appreciate their interests. We doubt not to be able to find a seaport, from whence we may obtain supplies, as well as to arrive in a good, fruitful, and healthy country. Mr. R. declares, that as we do not go to do harm, but good, he has no doubt but that the Almighty, who has protected us thus far, will still further extend his mercy to him, and to those who have committed themselves to his care."

An old colonist, of the name of Bernhard Roedolf, who had emigrated to Natal, enlightened his brother colonists by the publication of the following Diary of their Proeedings, Government, and Discoveries:—

"On the 4th of April last, I quitted Graham's Town, in a horse-wagon. On the 14th of the same month I overtook my two brothers, Gerrit and Andreas Roedeloff, with their party, (who had left their farms to join the emigrants in the early part of the year), having with them 20 wagons; they were encamped at the Storm Bergen, behind "*Penhoek*," residing in great spirits and glee in their tents. My object in going after them was to endeavor to persuade them, if possible, to abandon their journey, and return to the colony—but all my endeavors and trouble were to no purpose. Up to this, my intention had been not to proceed further, but to return to the colony from the spot whence I should meet them; I, however here changed my plan, and continued going further. Friday, the 27th of April, we rode over the Orange River; on Saturday, the 7th of May, we arrived at the village of the chief Maroko, where we saw the Rev. J. Archbell, who there fills the honorable station of missionary, and who received us very hospitably. He informed me that Messrs. Maritz and Retief had started from thence not long ago, and that he had that day received intelligence that they were encamped not far off in 5 or 6 divisions, I was gratified on hearing this; re-commenced my journey instantly, and was so fortunate as to find myself the same evening safely lodged in the camp of Mr, Retief, surrounded by a large number of my country-

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men. Mr. Retief was much pleased on learning that I had arrived. The following morning was the Sabbath, and the spot where divine service was held, was made by wagons drawn up on each side, covered over the top; at the upper end a large tent was placed, the front pulled up, and looking into the space thus covered in;—this served us all for a church; the service being performed, twice in the day, in the usual manner of our Dutch Reformed Church, by the Rev. Erasmus Smit, who was appointed to the situation by the head of the farmers, Mr. Retief, by the approbation of a majority of the emigrants. On the Monday morning, Mr. Retief invited me to come to his tent, from the opposite side of the encampment, where I had put up with an old friend. I immediately complied with the request; he received me with kindness. I understood from him that he had entered into treaties of peace with the native chiefs in whose vicinity they were encamped, viz., Maroko, Towana, and Sinkajala. These chiefs, it appears, had suffered much from Matsellikatze,—their people murdered and plundered, and the remainder finally driven from their country. On Wednesday, the 11th of May, the whole encampment broke up, and proceeded to a high ridge, which I named "*Fine Prospect,*" (Schoone Uitzigt), and where we met Mr. Maritz and his party. Thursday we continued our journey to the first branch (spruit) of the Vette River, which takes its origin in the Drakenberg, and runs into the Vaal River. On arriving there we found a public meeting convened, for the purpose of sending out a commando against Matsellikatse, either to meet him as a friend,—or, in case of refusal on his part, to treat him as an enemy, and which was to start on the 1st of June. The three above named chiefs, and also one of the Captains of the Bastards, volunteered their services against Matsellikatse. This, however, Mr. Retief refused, but requested that they would accompany the commando in person, to which they all agreed.

"On the same day, three young couples passed the matrimonial court, held by Maritz, previous to the celebration of marriage.

"As respects the state of society, it appears admirable, which will be seen from the few disputes which have arisen. I could only hear of *three* cases of any importance: 1st. It was stated that a person intended blowing up one of the ammunition wagons; of this, however, there was no sufficient proof, and he was acquitted. 2nd. The dispute which arose four or five months ago, between H. Potgieter and Mr. Maritz, but which has since been amicably settled;—and 3rd, a person who attempted to take liberties with the wife of another, was condemned to pay a fine of Rds. 400.

"Provisions of all descriptions are abundant. The subjects of the chiefs before named, bring daily to the camp large quantities of produce on their backs and laden upon pack-oxen,—such as me-

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lies and Kafir corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans, &c. &c., which they dispose of with difficulty. The emigrants have with them an immense number of cattle and sheep—many thousands;—the cattle, taken generally, are not fat, but still in good condition; but the sheep are in good order. The country is healthy for all descriptions of cattle, as I have ascertained from more than 50 individuals, and water abundant. It is enchanting to the eye to view the beauteous face of nature here; but particularly at the lovely spot whence I departed from the emigrants at the Vette River. It is very cold in winter, and firewood generally very scarce, on both sides of the Orange River to the residence of Maroko; from thence there is abundance of olive wood (olyvenhout) on the sides of the mountains; the first mimosas met with is at the Vette River.

"The encampment is surrounded by thousands of all sorts of wild animals,—such as lions, wolves, gnus, blesboks, bonteboks, springbucks, &c. &c.

"The intention of the farmers is, immediately after the return of the commando against Matsellikatse, to resume their journey;—in the mean time the whole will remove to, and concentrate at, the middle branch of the Vette River. This river has three branches, uniting together in one a little below the spot where the farmers intend moving to, and further on running into the Vaal River. About 13 or 14 stages (schofts) over the Vaal River, more to the north than to the east, the farmers have found a suitable spot to build their town;—this place is plentifully supplied with good timber, abundance of lime and building stone, as good as can be found any where within the colony,—and having a fountain, which 15 yards below its source forms a running stream 17 yards broad and 22 inches deep. There is also a good salt-pan in the vicinity; and it is only 10 or 12 stages distant from Port Natal. The spot is stated further to be extremely healthy and fruitful. This account I received from many individuals at the camp who had been to the place and *saw* what they related to me.

"On Monday, the 19th of May, we parted, while a great number of wagons were already on their journey forward to the middle branch of the Vette River; every individual I looked at appeared in high spirits, and wore a pleasant countenance; with the greatest astonishment I stood silently gazing at them;—finally we parted,—they proceeded on their journey with pleasure, and I returned in grief to the colony.

"There are now upwards of *one thousand wagons* with the emigrant farmers,—and it is said that they can muster 1,600 armed men."

In the same month of this year the migration was greatly augmented by the departure of one of the oldest inhabitants

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of the District of Uitenhage, Mr. Pieter Uys, with about 100 followers. The reasons which led to this influential person's expatriation, is explained in the leading Dutch newspaper of the day the *Zuid Afrikaan*. Addressing the government of the Colony, the Editor of that journal says, speaking of the complaints of the Dutch farmers against the government:—

You have established posts to the villages,—but are branch posts established for the purpose of communicating with those residing at an isolated distance from the villages?—You have made penal law, without giving them the opportunity of becoming acquainted with them,—and yet they are punished for the slightest mistake!—You have made laws for the protection of the property of the apprentices, and Hottentots, and the dear Caffers,—but why do you remain behind in adopting laws for the security of the property of the farmers? You appoint special magistrates for the protection of the apprentices, and instead of fixing him in the centre of the district, so that he may be equally accessible to all,—the special magistrate of Uitenhage district is residing at the very extremity of the district, "Port Elizabeth."—If an individual brings an action against the special magistrate and fails to prove—however just his complaint—he must be condemned in *treble costs*. But how stands the case on the other hand?—Piet Uys, the hero, who fell in his attempt to rescue a comrade in the battle against the Zoolas,—who had volunteered in the war against the Caffers, in 1835,—was fighting for the protection of Her Majesty's subjects—and was shedding his blood for the integrity of Her Majesty's frontier,—when his wife was brought up to "Port Elizabeth" on a warrant of the special magistrate,—he brings an action for false imprisonment—makes a preliminary motion for papers, which the special magistrate opposes, but who is condemned by the Chief Justice, then on Circuit, with *the costs*,—which, however, were subsequently, on a warrant of the Governor, refunded to him, *out of the District Treasury*!—"What!" says Piet Uys, "my complaint is as just as any,—if I get a sentence in my favor, the costs are paid out of the District Treasury;—if I fail in the *proof* of my case, I must pay treble costs; do you call that *equally protecting all parties?*—I prefer living amongst barbarians, where my life depends upon the strength of my arms; rather than ——!" There he stopped—and—expatriated himself!

The particulars of the departure of this much respected and regretted man, is thus related in the local newspaper of the day, the *Graham's Town Journal*:—

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We mentioned in our last Journal that a party of emigrants from the colony, consisting of upwards of 100 persons, were then in the vicinity of Graham's Town. on their route towards the north-eastern boundary. As the circumstance excited considerable attention, and a feeling of deep and general sympathy, it was resolved that some mark of attention should be shewn them, which, while it unequivocally displayed the fraternal regard of the English settlers towards the Dutch colonists, would also testify that deep commiseration which had been excited in their minds, by the fact, that *any* circumstances should have arisen to induce so many productive hands to forsake the colony. As the most respectable and truly valuable present which could be made to them, a folio copy of the Sacred Scriptures was obtained, in massy Russia binding. The cost of this handsome volume was Rds. 100, which was raised by a subscription of one shilling each. On the outside of the front cover was incribed in gold letters as follows:—

The Gift
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF GRAHAM'S TOWN
AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD TO
MR. JACOBUS UYS
AND HIS EMIGRATING COUNTRYMEN.

On the inside of the cover was printed the following inscription:—

This Sacred Volume
Is presented to Mr. JACOBUS UYS, and his expatriating Countrymen,
by the Inhabitants of Graham's Town and its vicinity,
as a
farewell token of their esteem and heartfelt regret at their departure.
The anxiety which they have evinced
to endeavour to obtain a Minister of Religion,
and their strict observance of its ordinances,
are evident proofs,
that in their wanderings in search of another land
they will be guided by the precepts contained in this Holy Book,
and steadfastly adhere to its solemn dictates—
the stern decrees of
THE CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE,
THE GOD OF ALL NATIONS AND TRIBES!

This present was taken out to the encampment by a deputation of gentlemen, accompanied by about 100 of the inhabitants of Gra-

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ham's Town, who were received with much respect by the assembled farmers and their families, drawn up in line in front of their wagons. The address, which was read by Mr. W. R. THOMPSON, was as follows:

"MY GOOD FRIENDS,—The inhabitants of Graham's Town and its vicinity, hearing of your arrival in this district, with the intention of quitting for ever the land of your birth, have entered into a public subscription to purchase this Bible; and I am deputed, with the gentlemen who accompany me, now to present it to you. We offer it to you as a proof of our regard, and with expressions of sorrow that you are now going so far from us. We regret, for many reasons, that circumstances should have arisen to separate us; for ever since we, the British settlers, arrived in this colony, now a period of 17 years, the greatest cordiality has continued to be maintained by us and our nearest Dutch neighbours; and we must always acknowledge the general and unbounded hospitality with which we have been welcomed in every portion of the colony. We trust, therefore, that although widely separated, you will hold us in remembrance, and that we wish allways to retain for each other the warmest sentiments of friendship.

"We have fixed on the Sacred Volume, as the most suitable offering to you, knowing, from your constantly expressed religious feelings, that it will be the most acceptable; and we now bid you farewell—trusting, that the Father of heaven will continue to watch over you, and with the hope, that through your means the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ may be spread over the now benighted nations of the interior."

The above having been translated into Dutch by Mr. MEURANT, and the Bible presented by THOS. PHILIPPS, Esq., J.P.

Mr. JACOBUS UYS,* the venerable leader of the party, made a reply in Dutch of the following tenor:—

"I thank you gentlemen most heartily for the good gift which you have presented to us, and still more for the very good wishes with which your present has been accompanied. I feel confidence in assuring you that your gift will not be ill bestowed, but that I, and every one of my company, will endeavor by every means in our power, to act up to the precepts which are contained in that Holy Book, and thus show that we are faithful disciples of our Lord JESUS CHRIST."

Mr. PIETER UYS, eldest son of the above, said he wished to say a few words. He begged to thank the deputation for the very

* It is a remarkable fact that this party, though consisting of upwards of 100 persons, are all related either by birth or marriage, and that they have to address the truly patriarchal leader of it, either as Father, Grand-father, or Uncle.

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kind manner in which they had expressed themselves. He felt deep regret at parting with so many kind friends, but he hoped that as long as they all remained on this side of the grave, although parted by distance, they should remain united in heart.

The complaints of the farmers who had expatriated themselves were again reiterated to the government *within* the Colony, and from a part of the country where complaints of this kind had been hitherto unknown. The Memorialists urged their right to follow robbers beyond the boundary—claimed indulgence for their hitherto *loyal* and *dutiful* obedience—requested some enactment for the repression of vagrancy, and declared the grievances under which they labored had been the cause of the emigration of the farmers to Natal.

The voices of the Memorialists, nevertheless, fell upon the ears of the "deaf adder," for he was determined to close them "let the charmer charm never so wisely." The Lieut.-Governor could not afford to have his system broken in upon by any part of the community—and accordingly this, another stirring appeal, was disregarded—to accumulate a mass of grievances and disaffection against the local and British Government for gross inattention to the wrongs of its subjects.

The following is the Memorial from Colesberg, hitherto the most contented and safest part of the Cape Colony:—

To His Honor, A. STOCKENSTROM, *Governor of the Eastern District of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Colesberg, humbly sheweth:*

That, we have been long convinced that your Honor has felt a deep and unalterable interest in our welfare, and, lately assured by your Honor in Colesberg, that the same friendly feeling towards us remains unaltered, we approach your Honor with a statement of grievances under which we groan, *and which, if not speedily removed, must induce us to seek refuge in a foreign land.*

Convinced that the present system of licentiousness and insubordination among the black population, if not speedily checked and abolished, must lead to the commission of those crimes which have already stained the land with blood, and darkened the page of history: we humbly, but firmly, call upon your Honor to devise such

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measures as shall protect us in the legal possession of our Rights as Burghers.

We deem it incompatible with our Rights, as British subjects, to be prevented from following the depredators of our property beyond the Orange River; when, often, by following them to the opposite bank, we could recover our property at no expense or detriment to the execution of the Laws within the Colony.

We have further to assure your Honor, that, while we have hitherto hazarded our lives and sacrificed our property, at the command of the Government, in the hope that by our loyal and dutiful obedience, our interests should be regarded, and our grievances redressed, we are now incapable of defending ourselves or families from wanton outrage, far less of yielding the Government the least assistance, should it be required of us.

From the infidelity and insubordination of our servants, we are rendered incapable of using the means of grace undisturbed in our families or in the church, and must thereby not only suffer in our temporal, but also in our eternal interests.

Being apprehensive that those fearful crimes of former days, will again be committed by those fierce and indolent fellows, who infest the country, who will neither work nor want, we earnesly solicit your Honor to appoint such a Law, for all classes of the community, as shall prevent the same; and to subject all who wander about without the means of lawful subsistence to merited punishment.

That we deplore that the same causes which have led us to seek redress from your Honor, have already induced so many of our brothers, friends, and countrymen, to leave their country in quest of a secure and peaceful home in a foreign land: and are assured, that effectual measures may yet be devised to prevent thousands of our fellow-countrymen from following their unhappy example, and to cause our land, with the undeserved blessing of the Lord, to prosper. With this hope do we look and rely upon your Honor as our earthly Governor, as the Defender of our Rights, and the protector of our Laws, and trust that our hopes and expectations will not be disappointed.

And we shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Captain Gardiner, after a visit to England, returned to Natal in the month of May, accompanied by a Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Owen. His conduct in the Colony and at Natal disgusted all that came in contact with him, and he became involved in serious differences with the British settlers. A few days after his arrival,

" He called a meeting of the inhabitants, black and white, at which from 500 to 600 were present. On this occasion Capt. G.

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stated that the King of England had sent him ' to hold over them the shield of his protection,' and to see that strict and impartial justice was administered; that the natives were a free people like the whites, and that they were at liberty to quit their present stations should they be disposed, and to act in all respects as independent persons. Capt. G. then read his commission as magistrate under the *new Act of Parliament;* but which he explained as only referring to offences committed by British subjects, and not to those committed by the natives.* He then read a notice appointing Mr. Pickman Clerk of the Peace—which was followed by several Proclamations—the principal points in which were, prohibitions against the sale of fire arms to the Zoola Chief, or assisting him in his wars upon the neighbouring tribes.

On the several points referred to, Capt. Gardiner was closely questioned by some of the leading persons at the meeting—and the result was an expression of the utmost dissatisfaction at his proceedings, and a determination not to submit to his assumption of authority. Immediately after holding this meeting Capt, Gardiner packed up a few necessaries in his wagon and removed to a situation about 30 miles further to the eastward. That their sentiments might not be misunderstood—the British residents at Natal drew up a protest against Capt Gardiner's proceedings—and which we are informed contained the following points.—

" 1. *That the country of Natal has never been acknowledged as a part of the British Empire.*

2. That it was granted to the present inhabitants by Chaka, the late King of the Zoolas, and has been confirmed by the present King Dingaan to them, under the title of " the white men's country."

3. That the power assumed by Captain Gardiner is contrary to the principles of equity—inasmuch as it only extends to the punishment of British subjects for offences committed *by* them, while it offers them no redress for crimes committed *against* them by the natives.

4. That the power of Captain Gardiner is inefficient, inasmuch as it does not give him any jurisdiction in civil cases,

5. That such an appointment is calculated to lead to acts of tyranny and oppression; inasmuch as examinations are required to be sent to the colony, and returned to Natal, during all which time the party accused, though innocent, may be incarcerated in gaol.

6. That no mode of redress is pointed out in the event of such acts of oppression being committed.

7, That they object to this power being vested in Captain Gardiner, inasmuch as that officer, before quitting Natal for England, with the avowed object of soliciting the British Government to recognize

* The Cape Punishment Bill.

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Port Natal, materially injured the inhabitants by advising Dingaan to put a stop to their trade.

8. That on this ground they consider Capt. Gardiner inimical to the interests of the inhabitants, and undeserving of their confidence."

The protest, of which the above is the mere substance, concluded by a declaration, that the inhabitants, in coming to a determination on these points, were not actuated by factious motives; but did so entirely on the ground of the informality, and very unsatisfactory character, of Capt. Gardiner's proceedings They expressed a most ardent wish that His Majesty's Government would adopt measures to place them under an authority armed with power to execute law and to afford them protection.

This protest was signed by most of the white inhabitants.

The treaty of Capt. Gardiner, (vide, page 40) with Dingaan in 1835, was repudiated as cruel and unjust by the British inhabitants of Natal, who represented their views within the colony as follows:—

To the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal:

Sir,—We have read with surprise a letter in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th April, 1837, (copied from one in the *Record*) purporting to be written by Capt. Gardiner, wherein he states distinctly three courses to be taken in treating with Dingaan. There is a fourth; but, we must confess, we do not understand it, as he does not specify clearly what it is.

We have now consulted, and are unanimously of opinion, that by Capt. Gardiner's own words at the time, also from his interpreter George Cyrus, who, we think, is now in or near Graham's Town; and by what we have heard from Dingaan since, that it was upon the third course that the natives were delivered up—that is to say, *unconditionally*.

He states, that a weak and timid policy might be contented with the third alternative. We answer—*so it was*. We are not aware of any other policy having been pursued until the late slaughter by Dingaan of Dubo's people and the desertion of the Amapeece, when we *all* agreed to reject the treaty (as most cruel and as utterly impracticable) and to *protect the people;* and though we by no means wished to come into collision with Dingaan, yet, *if he molested us to offer resistance.*

Such a message was conveyed to Dingaan; and though before that he had stopped the trade, and even taken the guns from one of the hunters (as he says by advice of Capt. G.), yet we had no sooner assumed this firm attitude than he immediately declared the trade open, and expressed a wish to be on closer terms of friendship and alliance with us than ever. How long it may last, now that Capt.

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G. has arrived again to carry out his *energetic and humane policy*, we cannot say. We know that Dingaan expressed disappointment upon Capt. G.'s recent visit to him. no doubt expecting Capt. G. to fulfil his treaty, the impossibility of which we need not point out.

But to return to the letter. Capt. Gardiner states that he has received the thanks of many, both black and white, for his interference in the treaty. Possibly he may have received thanks from Dingaan, who thirsted for their blood; but that he received thanks from the majority of the white residents here, we most positively deny. Many of the whites (of course all the blacks) were not parties to the treaty, and always disapproved of it; still, when entered into, the Europeans would have kept it had it not been for the sanguinary measures of Dingaan.

So much repugnance did the whites feel to this treaty, that H. Ogle, when compelled by its terms to take and deliver up to certain slaughter the mother and two infant sisters of Nontabula, one of his head men, gave the son and brother of these victims a cow as some atonement for his conduct.

We also see by Capt. Gardiner's evidence, as given in your paper at various times, that he has stated that Dingaan gave him the country from the Umtoogale to the Umzimvoobo Rivers, of course comprehending Natal and the country of the Amapondas.

We beg through the medium of your Journal to point out to those who may feel interested in our affairs, that Chaka gave at several times, and to several different parties, the same tract of country, and that Dingaan has often confirmed the said *gift* to the predecessors of Capt. Gardener; also that Capt. Gardener has treated with, and received a country from a man *who has not, nor ever had, the slightest title to it*. If desolating a wide extent of country by fire and sword,—if murder of the inhabitants in cold blood as well as in battle,—if cruelties, the most unheard of, to the aged and defenceless, the women and the children,—could give such a right, such a right had Chaka, and none other, he never having occupied it excepting upon his return from his first mauraud-ing expedition against Faku, when the worn-out and knocked up cattle were left at different places upon the route until recovered.

Unluckily for the validity of such a gift there lives at *Natal* a chief named Umnini, whose ancestors have, as far back as Kafir tradition reaches, been the legal and rightful chiefs and owners of the country around, and who has never abandoned it. After a knowledge of the above who will argue for the justice or the necessity of receiving such a grant,—in fact receiving from Dingaan the property of Umnini?

We remain, Sir, your's, &c.

R. Biggar,	D. C. Toohey,
T. D. Steller,	W. Blankenberg,
G. White,	J. Stubbs,
J. Duffy,	R. Russell.

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From his camp at Sand River, Retief addressed the Governor of the Colony upon a subject which had already become serious matter of conversation within the Colony, that certain parties there, including some powerful agents, had used their utmost influence to raise the tribes of the interior, especially the Griquas, more immediately under their influence, against the Emigrant Farmers. His letter, conveying the belief of full six thousand people under him, respectful, conciliatory, but melancholy in its tone, is as follows—it repeats the "oft-told-tale" of great grievances, repeatedly represented, but still remaining unredressed, and an assumption of independence which could not be mistaken; but which it appears was neither checked nor attended to :—

To His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

The undersigned, conductor and chief of the United Encampments, hereby

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That, as subjects of the British government, we, in our depressed circumstances, repeatedly represented our grievances to His Majesty's government; but, *in consequence of finding all our efforts to obtain redress fruitless*, we at length resolved to abandon the land of our birth, *to avoid making ourselves guilty of any act which might be construed into strife against our own government.*

That this abandonment of our country has occasioned incalculable losses; but that, notwithstanding all this, we cherish no animosity towards the English nation.

That, in accordance with this feeling, commerce between us and the British merchants will on our part be freely entered into and encouraged, with the understanding, however, that we are acknowledged as a free and independent people.

That we have understood with deep regret that nearly all the aborigines and tribes by whom we are at present surrounded, have *been instigated to attack us; but that, although we find ourselves in a position to confront and defy all our enemies, we nevertheless humbly request your Excellency, as far as it may be in your power, to use your authority and influence to repress such hostilities, in order that we may not be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures*, as has recently been the case, in consequence of the attack of Matselikatse upon us.

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That we trust soon to convince the world, by our conduct and deeds, that it is not, and never was, our intention unlawfully to molest any of the native tribes; but that we, on the contrary, set the highest value on universal peace and good-will among men. That, finally, we confidently hope that the British government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,
(Signed) P. Retief.
Sand River, July 21st, 1837.

Notwithstanding the allegations to the contrary, made by the Anti-Colonial Press, represented by the Editor of the "Commercial Advertiser," the continuance of the migration was thus described in the "Graham's Town Journal" by an intelligent and accurate correspondent:—

Orange River, August 2d, 1837.

"I have just returned from the different camps between Modder, Vet, and Vaal River. When I left, there were more than 600 men capable of bearing arms. On each side of the Caledon River there were 400 men, who were to join the rest in advance. Jacob De Klerk has just crossed Aleman's Drift with 30 wagons. Field-Commandant Peter Jacobs, of the Beaufort District, has been at Retief's Camp and has returned home, but is shortly expected to join, along with almost his whole *Commandschap*. In short, you may say that nearly all the men in his district are making ready to trek. Tarka is also on the move. The foremost part is at Pen Hoek. I counted with sixteen wagons 29,000 sheep, and 3,252 head of horned cattle. After stating this I shall leave any thinking man to judge what a scarcity of cattle, sheep, &c., will soon ensue. Ewe sheep are not to be procured at any price. Where is the remedy? No man can venture to go the distance the emigrants intend to settle, in consequence of the different marauding tribes. I am happy to inform you the different camps enjoy perfect health."

But another hand of later date sketched the progress and situation of the emigrants. The style and allusions will shew it was not that of one of the Farmers, but of an Englishman, who regretted and fortold the results we now experience, but who was treated with levity as a "*prophet accursed for ever boding ill.*"

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Orange River, 20th August, 1837.

I have made rather a long journey—and wherever I have met with well-informed people, it has been my endeavor to ascertain the real state and sentiments of the honest, and once rich, but now poor and calumniated farmers. From my own personal observations, I am now convinced of the cruelty and falsehood of those who have held up these worthy men as barbarians, and as having no claim to the respect and sympathy of the British public. I am sorry to say that numbers, who, a short time ago, did not intend to cross the boundary, are now " treking," or making ready to start as soon as winter is fairly over. *The cause assigned for this, from the Fish River mouth to the Orange River, is the very insecure measures adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor for the protection of property and the impunity with which the natives residing over the boundary may commit depredations, and all kinds of excesses upon the white inhabitants.* Such a state of things cannot exist long, and I look forward to the crisis with the most fearful apprehensions. The savages now know their power, and they do not fail to impute all the late imbecile measures to fear. Generally speaking all the farmers who received grants of land from His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, between Stormberg Spruit and Kraai River, have " treked"—and I have heard from numbers of them, that not one would have left, had they not been ordered off by the Lieutenant-Governor, when he ceded the land to the Tambokie Kafirs. Now the Tambokies had just as much right to the country as the Pacha of Egypt has to the Falkland Islands, and the Lieutenant-Governor has just as much right to cede the country to them as your humble servant. The short of the story is, there has been no nation inhabiting that tract of country within the memory of the oldest colonist on the frontier, nor can it be ascertained that any people, with the exception of a few wandering Bushmen and runaway Hottentots, have ever resided between these two Rivers. The Kafirs themselves to whom the ground has been given, admit freely that they cannot and will not live there, want of bush prevents them, and now that the colonists have left it, it will become as before—a rendezvouz for murderers and theives—and in short for the offscouring of the colony who will flee there to escape the hands of justice. The Boers who resided there, had constructed dams at the different spruits so as to ensure in the long droughts, a constant supply of water. They had built good houses, brought the ground under tillage, made gardens, and rendered their places of some value. All these they have now left, and, along with hundreds more of their *abused* brethren, have abandoned their native country, *to seek in the wilds of the interior, that security which they have found to their cost, cannot be enjoyed in this colony*: Not a day passes without wit-

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nessing the heart rending scene of expatriation in the true sense of the word, and that expatriation occasioned by measures which are fast causing the ruin of this once flourishing colony.

"*War*," said the illustrious Burke, "*never leaves a nation where it found it*," neither has the Kafir war left the frontier where it found it. It is not so much the losses sustained from the Kafirs and other robbers that the farmers complain of, for these under a proper system might be provided against; it is not the slave question—for the cries of the world and common humanity demanded freedom for the slave—but the great grievance is the boundary recently made—and the policy which has been adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor in relation to the tribes on our immediate border. Thefts are of continual occurrence along this part of the frontier, and many of the farmers have suffered severe losses by the depredations of the Tambokie Kafirs. In fact with regard to horses it is next to impossible to keep one. Large numbers of these have been stolen, and the Kafirs still continue to steal them wherever they can lay their hands upon them.

The party under the management of Pieter Retief had settled themselves on the Sand River, a branch of the northern Gariep. Pieter Uys with his adherents now determined to coalesce with Retief, but dissatisfied with some proceedings of Maritz decided to cross the Quathlamba or Draakberg Range and settle down in the Natal territory, south of those mountains; but previous to their movement they put forth the following exposition of their sentiments:—

Caledon, 14th August, 1837.

Resolutions adopted by us, the undermentioned *travellers* and *exiles*, from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, now on our journey between the Orange and Vet Rivers. We make known to our countrymen in advance, with what object and intentions we have undertaken our journey, and that our unanimous wish is—

1. To select the country called the Bay of Port Natal as our sea port.

2. To inspect the extent of country joining the same, inland, as far as we shall deem it necessary.

3. That we have placed ourselves under certain chiefs, as Field-Commandants, as protecting leaders over us, to investigate and redress all grievances, that may take place on our journey.

4. *We place our dependence on the All wise Ruler of heaven and earth, and are resolved to adhere to the sure foundation of our*

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reformed christian religion, entertaining the hope when we have reached the place of our destination, we shall live a better and safer life.

5. As regards the establishment and execution of legal authority, as exercised by some of our countrymen, we must unanimously declare, that we entirely disapprove thereof; and we shall only regulate ourselves in the wilderness by the *old Burgher Regulations* and duties, and all differences which may arise, shall be adjusted in accordance with those Burgher Regulations,

6, We have come to the final determination not to submit to any laws that may have been established by a few individuals, and which we conceive has a tendency to reduce us from a state of banishment to a state of slavery

7. When we shall have attained our object, and have arrived at the place of our destination, we then trust to see the whole of our countrymen assembled together; then, by the public voice, to proceed to the election and appointment of our chief rulers, and the framing of proper laws, and in general to consider what is useful both for country and people.

8. The judicial appointments and laws, as now established, will not be noticed by us in the slightest degree, but are considered as of no value.

9. We trust that every burgher will participate in these sentiments, in order to be placed in the situation of a free citizen.

10. *We purpose to establish our settlement on the same principles of liberty as those adopted by the United States of America, carrying into effect, as far as practicable, our burgher laws.* Every person agreeing herewith will, therefore, attach hereto his signature, for the information of those who are still in doubt on this subject.

(Signed) P. L. Uys,
J. J. Uys,
J. P. Moolman,
H. J. Potgieter,
J. Landman.

and one hundred and sixty-five others.

In a former part of this compilation one of the *chief* grievancces of the Dutch inhabitants, and which drove them into exile, has been stated—namely—the inadequate compensation for their property in slaves. To the Dutch inhabitants this suffering was principally confined; but let the reader now hear the complaints of an Englishman on the same subject, and then judge whether that act had not "*established a raw*" on

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the backs of the native-born Colonists. The writer is Major Parlby, who settled himself in the Eastern division of the Colony, but disgusted with the unrestrained habits of the servile population, and despairing of any amendment, after a successful trial of the capabilities of the Colony, abandoned it for ever :—

Again, I earnestly solicit the serious attention of my fellow countrymen at home to a generous consideration of the case of the older Colonists; their's is a hard and cruel case of suffering inflicted upon them by the British nation, which arrogates to itself the character of generosity and magnanimity. If the Dutch inhabitants of this colony cannot understand the beauty of the principle on which the slave was made free, we should pity that want of education and expansion of mind, which would have resulted from it, and towards which desirable end, since our possession of the Cape, we have done nothing to assist. *But we have goaded them to desperation, we have plundered them of their property, and they are leaving our territories in countless numbers, execrating the name of England.* They have all their bibles, which many of them reverence and study —and they can fully understand the meanings of the following verses in the 21st Chapter of Exodus,—

" And if a man smite his servant or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished."

" Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for *he is his money.*"

What must they think of our nation, therefore, with all its boasting philanthropy, when many of them have been reduced from comfort to destitution by an act of the British Parliament!

I will here state my own case, rejoicing as I do, that slavery is at an end.

When I came to this colony, the only steady laborers were the present apprentices to improve and cultivate my Estate; I purchased several for whom I paid the sum in real money of 11,050 Rds., or about £830. When these apprentices were appraised by the Appraisers appointed by the Government here, they were valued at 11,000 Rds , or £825. The following is what I have received in Compensation :—

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Cape Town, 9th August, 1837.

Statement of Major PARLBY's *Claim for Slave Compensation, No. 2852, recovered in England.*

Amount awarded at the Cape as per Commissioners' Report				£346	4	7
Amount awarded by the Commissioners in London				343	1	5
Paid in Stock at 99⅞ per Cent.				343	10	0
Produce of the Stock, 97⅜ per cent				334	9	6
Amount received for Interest and Dividends				24	19	7
				£359	9	1
Commission and charges recovery	£17	19	5			
Government Stamp	1	10	0	19	9	5
				£339	19	8

Thus suffering a loss of £490 0 4.

Surely the case of the colonists is deserving of the immediate consideration of England, The rulers of our nation can yet redress the injuries inflicted upon us by their own act; they can direct, if they please, the tide of capital and emigiation here—they can support us in all our laudable undertakings both in men and in money. They can assist in bringing forth for the mutual benefit of ourselves and our mother country, such useful undertakings as canals and public roads; they can do something to relieve our taxation, and much to encourage our education, and promote our industry—*for this is a wonderful country, in climate, in capabilities, and in the elements of power and riches, which are daily springing into light,* and which the late journey of Captain Alexander will in no slight degree contribute to.

As evidence of what the Colony was suffering from its abandonment by the Boers, a statement was made in the month of October of this year of the emigration from one single Field-cornetcy, that of the old and formerly flourishing TARKA District, by which it appears that 113 persons had deserted that small tract alone, with 102,600 sheep and goats, 6,900 black cattle and 1000 horses, depriving the Colony of a productive capital in value of not less than £60,000 sterling, *besides its best and ablest defenders.*

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Stung to the quick by the increasing migration from the Colony, the anti-Colonial press, which had desired the movement, now demanded the most stringent proceedings against the farmers on the part of the Colonial Government; and the South *African Commercial Advertiser*—the oracle of the *soi-disant* philanthropists—evoked the local government to pass "Bills of Pains and Penalties" against emigrants, whom it had previous declared were placed beyond our control. The absurdity of the intemperate Editor's views were thus happily placed in juxta-position by the "Graham's Town Journal."

1836.

As soon as they (i. e. the emigrant farmers,) are beyond our jurisdiction, we have nothing more to do with them. We are not responsible for their conduct, *nor are they responsible to us. They are as dead to the colony as if they had gone to France, or Tartary, or to China.* Are they prepared for this total independence, or do they not see sure and quick destruction hovering over them.

1837.

What then is the course indicated by these proceedings and events to the colonial and British government? * * *

To summon Retief and his whole party to return forthwith to the colony, to answer such charges as may be brought against them by Her Majesty's Attorney-General on pain of being *outlawed, declared rebels, and treated as such wherever found.* * * * *To forbid the payment of all claims due to them from the colony, until they have again submitted themselves to Her Majesty's government,—with forfeitures and penalties for disobedience, as in the case of declared enemies.*

The incessant and harrassing annoyance of Kafir Depredations, experienced by the inhabitants of the Frontier Districts, which forms a chief item of the grievances alleged to have been suffered by the emigrant Farmers, and a cause of their removal, was once more forcible brought before the notice of influential persons in England, but still with no satisfactory result. A body of the British settlers of 1820, known as the Clumber Party, located in the District of Albany, about this time addressed the Duke of Newcastle on the subject, of which he following notice was given at the moment:—

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"It may not be generally known, that a large party amongst the emigrants of 1820, were from the County of Nottingham, and that the *Duke of Newcastle*, whose family estates are there, took at that time great interest, and afforded considerable assistance in the execution of the project. This party was *located* in a fine country about five miles east of Bathurst,—the Village which they have formed, being named CLUMBER, after His Grace's Seat near Nottingham. Here they have exhibited much praiseworthy industry. The beautiful valley where they reside,—and which was a perfect wilderness on their arrival—now exhibits several comfortable dwellings, with delightful gardens, where the vine and a variety of fruit trees flourish with great luxuriance. In the centre of the hamlet, on a grassy knoll, stands a plain but substantial chapel, and near it the residence of the village schoolmaster, who—to the high credit of that body we record it – has been established there, and is supported by the *Wesleyan Society*. The inhabitants of this part of the settlement, are not only an industrious, but they are a religious people; and it is a scene calculated to afford the benevolent mind the most exquisite pleasure, to witness the inhabitants for miles round Clumber, flocking to their little chapel on the Sunday, and to hear the song of thanksgiving resound amongst the green hills, as with one voice they sing the praises of THE GREAT CREATOR. And not only do the white inhabitants thus assemble, but numbers of colored persons, consisting of Hottentots, Fingoes, and Bechuanas, repair thither also, and to whose instruction much attention is paid. This part of the settlement is better calculated to support a dense population than many others. Abounding in excellent limestone it affords considerable scope for industry, and a large proportion of the lime used for building purposes at Graham's Town is supplied from this neighbourhood. On the recent irruption of the Kafirs all the inhabitants were driven from their homes, and were full sharers in the ruin which was sustained by the frontier districts in general—and although they have resumed their usual occupations, they have not, by any means, recovered from that destructive inroad. Feeling, however, in common with their fellow sufferers, the great injustice with which they have been treated, and the supreme folly of the existing relations with the border tribes, they have addressed the following letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, which we cannot hesitate to believe will be attended with the desired effect

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—

Although more than seventeen years have elapsed since we quitted the shores of our native land, and emigrated under the auspices of your Grace to this colony, yet we feel assured that your Grace has not lost that kind interest in our welfare, which you were then pleased so distinctly to manifest. Hence we are induced to

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bring under your notice our present situation and circumstances, in the confident hope that we shall receive the aid of your Grace's powerful influence in our endeavors to obtain that justice and support to which we humbly conceive, as British subjects, we are fully entitled.

It will be known to your Grace as matter of history, that at the close of 1834 this colony was unexpextedly invaded by the neighboring Kafir Tribes; but it may not, perhaps, be so well understood that that inroad was the most unprovoked and savage irruption which had ever been made by that barbarous people into this settlement. In one week the whole of the border districts, along a line of ninety miles, was laid waste, many of the settlers murdered, and their dwellings fired, and immense booty carried off into the Kafir territory; whilst we in common with all the inhabitants of this part of the colony, were driven from our homes and cast upon the charity of the world, for food and shelter.

Without going farther into detail, or detaining your Grace with particulars of the military operations which took place consequent on this invasion, it will suffice for us to observe that the savages were ultimately subdued by the British forces, under the command of the Governor of the colony, Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in person; whilst the colony was placed in such a posture of defence, as to inspire the inhabitants with renewed confidence. *Such humane and wise restraints were also imposed on the Kafirs as would, there is every reason to believe, have led speedily to their civilization, as well as have effectually prevented them from making any future inroad into the colony*

We have now to state to your Grace, that by order of the Secretary of State for the colonies these salutary measures have been entirely subverted, and that we and the other unfortunate sufferers have been treated in every respect as the *offending* party; a point which is distinctly affirmed in a despatch of the Secretary of State to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as well as implied in a Treaty since made by the Lieut.-Governor of this Province with the invaders, containing articles of that impolitic and dangerous tendency, as cannot fail ultimately, if persisted in, to lead to the total ruin of this once flourishing settlement.

With respect to the charge of having irritated the savages to invade this settlement. We beg distinctly to assure your Grace, that it is utterly unfounded, The British Settlers have always been the friends of the Kafirs—and had never, EVEN IN A SINGLE INSTANCE, retaliated upon them for those murders and plundering which had been so often committed by them within the settlement, prior to that general irruption.

It is with poignant sorrow we also state to your Grace that many hundreds of the old Dutch colonists have already abandoned the

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colony from a sense of insecurity; and that many more are preparing to follow them: but whilst this class of Colonists have adopted this extreme measure, the British population have resolved to maintain their ground, and to appeal to their country for redress of those grievances under which they labour.

Petitions have according been prepared and transmitted for presentation to the Imperial Parliament; that to the House of Lords having been entrusted to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, and to the Commons, to Mr. W. Gladstone; and we now take the liberty most respectfully, of entreating the powerful aid of your Grace in furtherance of our object, and in defence of a deeply injured and oppressed people.

We take the liberty also of transmitting to your Grace by this post such public documents as may put your Grace in possession of those particulars to which we have merely referred in this comunication.

With the highest respect, we remain,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servants.

Signed by all the members of the Clumber party still resident in the settlement of Albany.

The progress making by Retief while at his encampment at the Sand River, his views regarding a settlement in Dingaan's country, and his moderate intentions towards Matsellikatse, are stated in a letter from him, dated from his camp, on the 7th Sept. In the documents appended to this communication, it appears that the Griquas had been instigated to molest the emigrants, and it was generally believed in the colony at the time, that this instigation emanated from influential persons there, who were in constant correspondence with Waterboer and his chief advisers. It is to be hoped that this was mere calumny; but, if a malicious fiction, it bore so strong an impress of probability that it met with an easy admission into the minds of large numbers of the colonists. Retief not only warned the Griquas against aggression, while he propitiated peace and good-will with that people, but represented the matter to the Governor of the Colony:—

Sand River, 9th Sept., 1837.

"Our religious services are by no means neglected, but on the contrary earnestly and constantly conducted according to the established forms and principles of the Dutch Reformed Church. We

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have, thank God, a truly good Divine amongst us, whom we acknowledge as a faithful shepherd to his flock. To our great grief this worthy man lately lost his son by fever in the 21st year of his age, which bereavement has been a sore trial to him and his wife. This malady has raged here a considerable time, but up to this period, no more than five persons have died from its effects. We cannot be too grateful to Almighty God for our wonderful preservation, and the many mercies bestowed upon us, Up to this moment we have not met with a difficult or dangerous road; not a wagon has been upset or broken; no want of grass or water has been felt; no scarcity of game, fish, or honey; no want of corn, melies, (maize) beans, potatoes or pumpkins. I have indeed often regretted that the natives, from so great a distance, bring us more than our necessities require, in exchange for sheep, goats and skins.

"We are thus going confidently forward, in the assurance that God, in His mercy, will lead us in safety ere long to the place of our destination. Had we known sooner that we should have found a passage over the "Draakberg" (Dragon Mountain) we should long ago have been at the end of our journey. From all accounts we had been led to believe that we should be compelled to travel round the point of that mountain, which would have led as considerably to the northward. Having, however, sent out a party to asceitain whether there was no probability of crossing it, they returned after an absence of 25 days with the glad tidings, that at five different points the whole encampment might cross this formidable barrier without difficulty or danger. This route, therefore, compared to that we had intended to take, will shorten our journey to Natal by full two months. We shall now travel due east, but as the pasturage between where we now are and the "Draakberg" has been set on fire and burnt, and as our sheep are lambing fast, I have considered it advisable for the encampment to continue where it is, while I proceed in person with a party of fifty men to Port Natal, and to the residence of the Zoola King Dingaan, having heard more from that quarter than I exactly like. I leave this on the 16th inst., and I go with confidence, knowing that my intentions are not evil but good. If it please God I shall be back at the encampment by the latter end of October.

"I have not as yet ascertained anything respecting Trechard. Reports have, however, reached me that Matselikatse has completed preparations for another attack upon us, and it is said he has issued a peremptory order to his men to conquer or die. Numbers of his people have in consequence deserted him. I have now given him abundance of time maturely to consider whether he will come to me, and atone for his evil deeds, or whether I shall be compelled to go to him. I am continually receiving reports that I am surrounded by enemies; but I make myself perfectly easy, assured

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that the Almighty arm will support those who are in the right. I have been visited by a certain Captain of the Bastards, and by several Field-cornets, as well as by private persons amongst the Corannas, who all persist, without any variation, that Waterboer has been instigated to get up a combined attack upon my encampments; and that he had invited all the captains to a meeting to consult on the subject. Upon hearing this I sent letters to the several captains, of which I enclose a copy, (see document No 1,) and which will put you in possession of all the particulars. In addition to these reports, I have also received several communications from the Hantam and Orange River, begging me to be on my guard, as there was mischief brewing against me. * * * * * * *

I have heard that great apprehensions are entertained in the Colony that we shall treat Matzalikatse too harshly, and which I also perceive are your feelings, as expressed in one of your letters. *Rest assured that I can thank God I do not possess a thirst for blood, or an unfeeling heart; but while I take care not to act with undue severity, I shall be equally guarded that I do not by indecision increase the evil. I have seen too much of the disasters which have befallen the Colony from a want of promptitude, not to be wary on that subject. It is enongh that I have been taking lessons on your frontier for the last twenty-two years, and know what should be done or what should be left undone.* The better to shew you my views respecting the colored classes, I now enclose you the copy of a letter circulated by me (document No. 2,) as also a communication addressed by me to the Governor at Cape Town (No. 3). I had considered that His Excellency, and my countrymen, would both be deceived by false reports, and I thought it better that they should learn my sentiments from myself than through the channel of public report. * * * * * *
I have not left my native land to live in darkness with the British Government, or my countrymen, who are left behind, but my anxious desire is to have free intercourse with them. * * *

" From the great quantity of cattle with us, we have been compelled to divide into several parties; but I am happy to say we have not here the plague of cattle-stealers. The cattle which sometimes stray, are brought after us from 6 to 7 days journey, by the Marole's people, under the chief Maroko, and for which I remunerate them. Mr. Archbell (Wesleyan Missionary) deserves the highest praise for the manner and character of the institution established by him amongst this people, and it is to be wished that all those who profess to teach and lead the uncivilized would take a lesson by him, and endeavor to conduct them in the same paths of religion, industry and justice.

P. RETIEF.

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No. 1.

TO THE GRIQUA CAPTAINS.

Sand River, July 18, 1837.

Captains,—In consequence of several depositions made before me, by some of your Captains, as well as by other individuals, there remains no doubt in my mind, that Waterboer has been incited and bribed, to induce you all to combine with him in making a treacherous attack upon my several encampments. As a Christian I advise you all first to wait and see the result of Matsellikatse's treachery against us. *Rest assured that we shall not attack or interfere with any tribe or people: but on the contrary you may also rely upon it, that whoever interferes with us, will have to rue it for ever after.* We have been induced to quit our native land, after sustaining enormous losses, and depend upon it that we have not taken this step to lead a worse, but a better life. On the other hand I have also to inform you that I have not been elected as the chief of this people by my own act, or even by the general voice of the people; but I have sufficient reasons to recognise the hand of God in placing me at the head of my countrymen. Let it, therefore, be sufficient for you to know that I can fearlessly call upon God, and may safely depend upon His mighty arm. Be, therefore, again assured, that as long as it may please Him to allow me to govern over this people, *no nation or tribe, of whatever class or color, will be molested by me or my dependants;* and that all who suffer themselves to be misled by designing men, to set themselves against me and my possessions by murder or plunder, will assuredly see that I shall act with inflexibility, and that my coming will be sure and their punishment certain.

I must also call to your recollection the awful visitation of God upon you, after your unlawful, murderous, and plundering attack upon Matsellikatse; when you were assembled in such great strength, and on your side alone so many hundred men, horses, weapons, &c., were lost. In this alone you may see the just reward of those who go out to strife without the aid of the Almighty. On the other hand it will also be well for you, for us, and for the world, to remark, how wonderfully God has enabled us, with so weak a force, to stand against the frightful and superior numbers of Matsellikatse. Be, therefore, advised by me, as your sincere friend, to consider the subject well before you take the advice of bad men, that you may not plunge yourselves into acts which you may for ever repent. I may also tell you, that I have never wished unnecessarily to shed the blood of my fellow creatures; and I, therefore, consider it desirable for you all to know that I have already got six Field-commandants, with their Field-cornets and men, in good order and discipline, and that these divisions consist

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of from 100 to 150 men each, and that according to several letters just received by me, I shall have 250 men more by the latter end of next month (August). My strength, therefore, increases every day, and I am continually moving further on;—it will consequently be well for you to remark, and I mention it to show how little I regard your hostility, that the longer you delay to attack me, the greater the difficulty and danger will become to you.

What is more, I have been informed that wagons journeying to my encampments have been unlawfully attacked and plundered by Bastards or Corannas; let this, therefore, be a warning to you, that if I again hear of such acts, those implicated will have to abide the consequences.

I have further been informed that a combination exists among you, to proceed to Matsellikatse, to make yourselves masters of our plundered wagons and other property now in the possession of that chief; I, therefore, again most earnestly warn you, that I will unceasingly pursue, and eventually punish as robbers, every person, without distinction, who may commit such an unjustifiable act. Matsellikatse has now alone to do with me, and I will give him sufficient time to decide whether he shall come to me to atone for his atrocious conduct, or whether I am to go to him to punish him for his enormities.

What is more, I have been repeatedly informed that Waterboer is busily engaged with some Captains in getting up a Commando to come to me, under the pretext of joining me against Matsellikatse —and thus getting an opportunity of attacking me; whereupon I have to inform you, that I do not require Waterboer's assistance; and if he thinks by his Bosjesman or * * * * sophistry to dig a pit for me, he may rest satisfied that he will find himself suddenly plunged into it. Waterboer may be certain that he is narrowly watched. All Captains, Field-cornets, or whoever it be among you that wish to see me, shall be most welcome. It is my particular desire, and I shall feel most happy, to have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with all your Captains, the result of which will be more to your own happiness and advantage than to mine. I, however, find myself obliged to prohibit any who comes to see me, from approaching my encampment with more than 12 followers. as larger parties will be looked upon at all my encampments as enemies and be dealt with as such.

I have further to inform you all, that on my arrival at Blesberg. I concluded a Treaty of peace and amity with Morocke and Towana, as Chiefs of the Moroles tribe, and that they have from the date thereof not only convinced me that they and their people will strictly adhere thereto, but they are even now doing so by sending after me, at distances of five and six day's journey, all our strayed cattle. Morocke has acquainted me that certain Corannas had de-

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clared their intention of attacking him, robbing him of his cattle, and burning his village. My answer to him was as follows:—Moroko,—keep yourself innocent from crimes against all nations and tribes; you know that I have sworn fidelity to you, as you have also sworn to me; adhere to your engagements with me; and let it be sufficient for you that I again say, that whoever injures you, injures me; and that whether I am near to, or far from you, send me word, and you will speedily have your friend to your assistance.

You will perceive from this what advantages such Treaties are calculated to confer upon a people; and may I not, therefore, ask you, why cannot we all, without distinction, unite ourselves in the same bonds of friendship? Again may I ask you, *why should this beautiful and fertile country, so bountifully blessed by Providence and which can be so advantageously occupied, be any longer looked upon as an insecure wilderness, abounding in deeds of murder and plunder?* It will, therefore, now be your faults if we do not convert it into a peaceful and happy country.

I now finally declare to you with a clear conscience, that it is not my wish to lead a single benighted and uncivilized being astray, much less do I desire to see their blood shed while in that state; my sincere wish, on the contrary, is to enlighten them, to lead them from their wicked ways, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith. I presume that you have ministers of the Gospel among you, who will assuredly explain to you the will of God respecting his creatures; and if you then, in opposition to your better judgment, as I have been informed, persevere in your wicked deeds, then I must tell you that the word of God teaches us plainly, that an awful day of retribution will await such offenders, in the presence of a living God; If, however, your instructors, as their duty compels them, have not endeavored, or are not even now endeavoring, to reclaim you from the ways of sin, then according to the word of God, a much more awful judgment will await them.

Now, Captains, let this be enough to induce you to consider what is the best for you to do. I will in conclusion, in accordance with my duty as a Christian, again offer to you all, without distinction, my real and lasting friendship, the same as I have done to all tribes and shall continue to do. I also conjure you to accept and preserve the same, and with the blessing of God, I trust that it will be to our mutual benefit and happiness. If you determine on rejecting my overtures of peace, you may hereafter repent it. I now fully trust, that with the blessing of God, my sincere and earnest desires, as herein communicated, will be abundantly useful to you, —and that I may ere long see that the present race of benighted beings inhabiting this country, will be bound together in the bonds

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of peace and friendship. On the other hand, I am fully convinced that such who may stubbornly refuse to enter into these desirable relations, will soon see and feel that they are contending with a mighty God! If there be any among you who imagine any difficulty in entering into these engagements, let them come to me, and I will endeavor to convince them to the utmost of my power. *See and hear now, ye Captains, Field-cornets, and other rulers of your people; I have acquitted myself before God, of my duties to you as a Christian; my last wish is, that the day may soon come when I shall see you all united in truth and brotherly love.*

I remain, Captains,

Your real Friend,

(Signed) P. RETIEF,

Commander of the United Encampments,

No. 2.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMANDANTS.

Art. 1. Every person shall be bound to obey the Field-commandant in the execution of his office,—and in the event of disobedience the offender shall be liable to a penalty of five Rds. for the first offence, and of double for the second and third offence.

2. The Commandant must furnish himself with a list of his Field-cornets, and the number of men attached to each, in order to take proper care that each man without favor or distinction, performs his share of duty.

3. The Commandant is required to be diligent in sending out the necessary patrols; also to station and relieve the night guards in the several encampments, and which guards must be placed at nine o'clock in the evening, or earlier, as occasion may require.

4. The Commandant will, during the present insecurity, take care that at least a whole encampment or more moves forward at once, as occasion may require; in which case, to prevent confusion and accident, no person will be permitted, without first having obtained leave from the Commandant, to move off to any place in front

5. The Commandant will, on extraordinary occasions, apply to the Commander of the encampment, or in his absence, to the President of the Court of Polity, (Raad van Poltie) for the purposes of consultation and receiving instructions in what manner he is to act under the circumstances of the case; notwithstanding which the Commandant is empowered to take any steps, where the emergency of the case may require it, without consulting the Commander or President of the Court of Polity, with the understanding that he will at all times be held responsible for the steps so taken.

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6. The Commandant will take especial care that no innocent blood be shed by the patrols, or, otherwise; but he is nevertheless empowered to use his fire arms should necessity require him so to do.

7. The Commandant will be diligent in preventing the pasturage from being unnecessarly burnt; and whenever this may happen during the journey, he is to endeavor to find out the guilty parties, that they may be immediately punished in conformity to the existing laws; and under such cirumstances the Commandant is empowered to direct his Field-cornets, with their men to put out such fire as quickly as possible.

8. The Commandant is also carefully to watch against the unnecessary killing of game, as he will be bound to report those committing such offence, without distinction of persons, and who will be fined in a penalty not exceeding One Hundred Rix Dollars, and not less than Ten Rix Dollars, to be decided by the judgment of the authorities, according to the circumstances of the case.

9. The Commandant and his Field-cornets will take the utmost possible care *that no servants, of whatever class or color, are ill used; as he will be bound immediately to report the guilty parties, without any distinction, in order that they may be punished according to the laws provided under this head,*

10. *The Commandant will also take particular care that no person possesses himself by violence of the children of Bosjesman or other aboriginal tribes, that he does not entrap them in an unlawful manner, nor take them away from their parents or relatives, nor keep them in his possession. Any person offending, to pay a fine of not more than One Hundred Rixdollars, and not less than Fifty Rixdollars;—neither will it be permitted for any person unlawfully to molest any tribe or people that may be met with on the journey.*

11. The Commandant will, for neglect of duty, be subject to a penalty not exceeding One Hundred and Fifty Rix Dollars, and not less than Five Rix Dollars—according to the judgment of the authorities, and the circumstances of the case.

12. The Commandant will, at the expiration of every month, duly report to the Governor, and in his absence to the President of the Court of Polity, every circumstance that may have taken place in the execution of his duties.

Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st June, 1837.

By authority of the Governor and Council,

(Signed) P. Retief.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FIELD-CORNETS.

Art. 1. Every person will be bound to obey the Field-cornet in the execution of his duties; for contumacy the offenders to be subject

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to a penalty of five Rix Dollars for the first offence, and of double for the second and third.

2. The Field-cornet will provide himself with a proper list of his men, in order that every person may perform the same share of duty without favor or distinction.

3. The Field-cornet will be bound continually to receive his instructions from the Commandant; but whenever necessity requires, he is also authorised to take such steps as he may think proper, with the understanding that he is at all times to be held responsible for the steps so taken.

4. In case of disobedience or neglect of duty, the Field-cornet will be subject to a fine not exceeding Sixty Rix Dollars, and not less than Five Rix Dollars, according to the judgment of the authorities and the circumstances of the case.

Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st of June, 1837.

By authority of the Governor and Council,
(Signed) P. Retief.

No. 3.

To His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cape of Good Hope.

The Undersigned, Conductor and Chief of the United Encampments, hereby

Humbly Sheweth,—

That, as subjects of the British Government, we, in our depressed circumstances, *repeatedly represented our grievances to His Majesty's Government; but in consequence of finding all our efforts to obtain redress fruitless, we at length resolved to abandon the land of our birth, to avoid making ourselves guilty of any act which might be construed into strife against our own Government.*

That this abandonment of our country has occasioned us incalculable losses,—but that, notwithstanding all this, we cherish no animosity towards the English nation.

That in accordance with this feeling, commerce between us and the British merchants will, on our part, be freely entered into and encouraged; with the understanding, however, that we are acknowledged as a free and independent people.

That we have understood with deep regret that nearly all the aborigines and tribes by whom we are at present surrounded, have been *instigated* to attack us; but that although we find ourselves in a position to confront and defy all our enemies, we nevertheless humbly request your Excellency, as far as it may be in your power, to use your authority and influence to repress such hostilities, in order that we may not be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, as has recently been the case in consequence of the attack of Matsellikatse upon us.

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That we trust soon to convince the world of our conduct and deeds, that it is not, and never was, our intention unlawfully to molest any of the native tribes; but that we, on the contrary, set the highest value on universal peace and goodwill among men.

That, finally, we confidently hope that the British Government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,
(Signed) P. Retief.

Sand River, July 21, 1837.

Another attempt was now again essayed to test the virtues of the notorious "Cape Punishment Bill," with what effect and with what degree of credit for so very grave and important a piece of legislation, will be seen by the following Report of Proceedings:—

CIRCUIT COURT, GRAAFF-REINET.

Saturday, 28th October, 1837.

Plaatje Plaatjes, Jan Ambraal, Johannes Burman, Uithaalder Ambraal; these prisoners were placed at the bar, for shooting a native residing at the Bethulie Institution, *beyond the boundaries* of the colony, and which crime was supposed to come under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill, and which bill the inhabitants at Port Natal so loudly proclaimed unjust, when Capt. Gardiner arrived to enforce it in that part of the world.

The Clerk of the Peace prayed postponement of this case, as he was not prepared to prove that the culprits were, at the time of the commission of the crime, Her Majesty's subjects, but trusted by next circuit to be able to do so.

Mr. Advocate Musgrave, for the prisoners, stated, that this was a case which he considered the Clerk of the Peace ought to have no leniency shewn him, and urged the trial.

The Chief Justice.—Are you prepared with an affidavit, Mr. Clerk of the Peace? To which he replied he was not.

Chief Justice.—Then you must go to trial; for it would be unjust to put the prisoners upon their trial twice for their lives, in order that the Attorney-General might fish up more evidence against them. The Attorney-General should not have indicted them if he had not sufficient evidence.

The prisoners were then arraigned.

Mr. Advocate Musgrave pleaded jurisdiction to the court.

Chief Justice.—This you should state to the jury.

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The Clerk of the Peace then stated the facts of the case, and which he intended to prove.

Mr. Musgrave again pleaded jurisdiction to the court, and maintained according to the rules he was correct.

The Chief Justice referred to the rule quoted by the learned Advocate, and acknowledged his error, and sat corrected.

Mr. Musgrave then made a most eloquent speech on the Act of Parliament, and stated that *a more unjust and oppressive Act had perhaps never been passed. Here was a law framed—not against the class of people which unfortunately were now placed at the bar —but directed against the unfortunate trek boers, who had been driven from the land of their birth by the oppression of the British Government,—that this law had been given to a certain "party" in England; but in the hurry the most material parts had been omitted, viz.: the machinery to work this law,—that as the Act now stood, it was but a piece of waste paper,—that before a case could be tried fresh powers must be granted—that the charter only authorised the judges of the colony to try such crimes as were committed within the colony, and not adjacent to it,—that if his Lordship, who now sat as a Judge, and whose warrant was solely under that charter, should sentence a criminal to be executed, and who was executed when he had no law to bear him out; then his Lordship would stand a fair chance of being tried as a murderer. That the act provides for the erection of such courts to try these sort of cases, but where are these courts to be found? then again, the best evidence is required, when, in all probability, the Clerk of the Peace will produce a piece of paper which he calls a chart, to shew the degree of south latitude; but this won't do; for if the British Parliament choose to frame an absurd law, they must make up their minds to bear the heavy expense of enforcing it; consequently no other evidence less than an experienced person, who has taken the necessary observations on the spot where the alleged murder was supposed to have been committed, could be admissable.* Besides (the learned counsel maintained) that the prisoners at the bar were not her Majesty's subjects, but Tambookies inhabiting the territories adjacent to the colony; and, according to the 4th section of the celebrated Act in question, were not amenable to the laws of the colony but to the tribes of such territory; that to constitute a British subject he should at least be born under the British flag, and the mere residing in the colony for a time does not constitute him a British subject, but only makes him amenable to the laws of the country during his residence there; and as soon as an individual steps beyond the boundary of the colony, then he is no longer answerable to the laws of the colony, but subject to the laws where he resides. The learned counsel here pointed out the absurdity of bringing persons from beyond the boundaries, where they have committed crimes, to

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be tried according to colonial laws; *for if they were acquitted here, they were still amenable to the laws of the land in which the crime was committed, and thus subject to be tried twice, by two different laws*; that if a boer migrates beyond the boundary, and is assaulted by a native, and he kills the native there, he is to be brought back into the colony and hanged, *but forsooth if the native kills the boer no notice is taken of it, and the murderer is allowed to roam the country with impunity*, and this is the unjustness of the Act to which he alluded,—that the people who framed this act, on the application of a "*certain individual*," could never have read it, *for it is nothing but one mass of absurdity, and cannot be enforced.* The learned council also objected to the indictment, on the grounds that the crime was against a certain statute, and therefore this should have been set forth in the indictment, and which he considered a very material defect.

The Clerk of the Peace maintained that the court had jurisdiction to try the case, that it had been brought into the Supreme Court, and by order of that Court removed to the circuit, consequently the Supreme Court had granted the jurisdiction.

The Chief Justice stated, that from the facts pointed out by the counsel for the prisoners, he really did not see how he could try the case, and considered the objection taken against the indictment to be fatal, and ordered a verdict of acquittal to be recorded.

The Clerk of the Peace moved that the prisoners be remanded, as he had another charge of theft against them. They were remanded accordingly.

MONDAY, 30th OCTOBER.

Plaatje Plaatjes, Jan Ambraal, Johannes Buurman, and Uithaalder Ambraal; these were the same prisoners who had been placed at the bar on the Saturday and remanded.

Mr. Musgrave made a motion to have the prisoners discharged, as the crime of theft of which they were accused was precisely the same as that for which they had been acquitted,—that the theft took place beyond the boundaries, and he considered that it would not be in strict accordance with justice to have them detained in prison six months longer.

The Clerk of the Peace maintained that it was a very different case; that the prisoners in this case were apprehenhed near Colesberg, in the colony, with the stolen cattle in their possession, consequently it was a continuation of the offence.

Mr. Musgrave stated, that it had been ruled by the twelve judges in England, that if a man steal anything in Germany, and bring it over to London, he must be indicted in Germany, and not in London; and maintained that the magistrate had no right to commit the prisoners; that if they with a laudable intention of serving the government did so, they must take the consequences.

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The Chief Justice, after making some remarks, ordered the prisoners to be discharged, and *observed that he did not see that any magistrate had the power under the Act of Parliament to commit any person to prison for crimes committed beyond the boundary, and the magistrates in fact had no power to take any proceeding, and therefore incurred a very great responsibility.* This remark was highly appreciated, because the Colesberg magistrate, who had committed the prisoners for the different crimes, happened to be present, and no doubt will profit by it.

But while all this useless waste of words and ink was being made, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, the ready instrument of the *soi disant* philanthropic party, in a despatch, dated the 29th of October, cleared the subject of much of its difficulty; he expressly denied all claim upon Natal—all intention to Colonize, and, more than all the utter inapplicability of the Cape Punishment Bill, that abortive act, to any place beyond the borders of the Colony, and even when he starts at the idea of the assumption of independence on the part of the Emigrants, and says it will never be admitted, he is met by the same difficulty which he acknowledged the Cape Punishment Bill had to suffer, namely, the want of "a police and ministers of justice," "at a point so distant as Port Natal."

Capt. Gardiner, who had been armed with that piece of "waste paper," the "Punishment Bill," and was created a justice of the peace under it, seems to have conceived the government was pledged to carry out the whole of its provisions, but the secretary soon disabused him of his error, as will be seen by the following extract from the Despatch in question:—

"His Majesty's government were of course aware, that the statute in question, however valuable it might prove for the punishment and prevention of offences in the immediate vicinity of the colony, could have very little practical efficacy *at a point so distant as Port Natal.*

"They were aware too of the fact that without a police, jail, and ministers of justice, the value of such a statute would be comparatively small, but they did not on this account deem it right to forgo the use of the best attainable remedy against the lawless conduct of British subjects, on the African continent.

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"Capt. Gardiner seems to have understood the statute in question, as implying a pledge on behalf of the British government to do all that is necessary for giving complete effect to the jurisdiction with which it invests him.

"It is necessary, therefore, to deny the existence of any such implied or tacit engagement. *His late Majesty disclaimed, in the most distinct terms, all right of sovereignty at Port Natal, and all disposition to extend his dominions in that direction*, and Capt. G. has been distinctly informed by me that His late Majesty's government entertained no projects of colonizatien in that quarter.

"*Port Natal is a foreign land, governed by foreign chiefs, and the government of this country has neither the right nor the desire to interfere with the authority of those chiefs.* By providing for the punishment of crimes of British subjects, committed within their borders, some encroachment is indeed made on the integrity of this abstract principle, but that encroachment is strictly confined within the limits of the necessity, by which it has been occasioned, and is justified.

"The settlers of Port Natal describe it as a free country, and complain of the interference of Parliament. These persons would appear to entertain views which cannot be too soon or too fully corrected. They have not ceased to be subjects of the Queen, or to be responsible to Her Majesty's courts and officers. They must either be in local allegiance to the sovereign of the country in which they live, or in a local, as well as personal, allegiance to their native sovereign.

"The pretensions they make to constitute a free independent state is so extravagant that I hardly suppose that it has been seriously put forward. Assuredly such a pretension will not be admitted by Her Majesty's Government, or by any other foreign state within the precincts of the civilised world, whatever may be the light in which these settlers may be regarded by the chiefs of the rude tribes with whom they are living."

Commandant Retief having broke up his Camp at the Sand River, proceeded towards Natal, where he arrived on the 19th of October, having first opened a correspondence with Dingaan, the particulars of which are given by the various actors in the scenes in the following documents:—

Port Natal, 24th October, 1837.

To the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal:

Sir,—Knowing, from the tenor of the remarks which have appeared at various times in your valuable and independent journal, on the affairs of this infant colony, that you

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have a friendly feeling towards it, and wish for its prosperity, I am induced to trouble you with these few lines.

The arrival of Mr. Retief and a party of emigrants at this place, on the 19th inst., with a view to their final settlement, was hailed by us as a matter of no small moment. The conviction that we shall for the future be permitted to live in peace, and be freed from the constant, though idle, threats of Dingaan, has infused a lively spirit amongst us. We can now proceed with confidence, and an assurance that our future exertions will be no longer cramped by doubts of our stability, but be rewarded with the fruits of our industry.

I enclose you the copy of an address, which was unanimously agreed to by all the resident inhabitants that could be collected on so short a notice, to Mr. Retief and his party, which I hope will find a place in your paper. Mr. Retief sets off this day to enter into a treaty with Dingaan, but he had previously transmitted to the king a letter announcing the object of the intended visit, a copy of which I also transmit to you.

I am, &c. A. BIGGAR.

(Copy): Port Natal, Oct. 19, 1837.

To the Chief of the Zoolas,—

I embrace this opportunity of your messengers' return to inform you, that it is my ardent wish to have a personal interview, in order to prevent any vague reports that may reach you respecting the intentions of the party who have left the colony, and wish to settle in the uninhabited country adjoining the Zoola territories.

It is our fervent desire to live at peace with the Zoola nation. Reports no doubt have reached you of our late rupture with Matselikatse, arising from the frequent and daring plunders of that tribe, and in consequence of which it became absolutely necessary to declare war, having tried in every possible way to adjust the differences, but without avail. I leave in a few days for the Zoola country to arrange with you our future relations.

Hoping for ever to live at peace and good understanding with the Zoola nation is the sincere wish of

Your true Friend,

(Signed) P. RETIEF, Governor, &c.

P.S.—Our party having parted, should any or all of them arrive in the Zoola country before me, it is my wish you will allow them a free pass to join us.

(A true copy.) A. BIGGAR.

PORT NATAL.

A public meeting of the resident inhabitants of Port Natal was held at that place on the 23d day of Oct., 1837, when the following

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address was voted to Pieter Retief, Esq. and deputation of emigrant farmers, and presented by A. Biggar, Esq., who was accompanied by the principal residents then assembled.

ADDRESS TO MR. PIETER RETIEF BY THE BRITISH RESIDENTS AT PORT NATAL.

We the undersigned, inhabitants (original settlers) of Port Natal, hail with sincere pleasure the arrival of the deputation from the emigrant farmers, under Pieter Retief, Esq., their governor.

We beg they will present our good wishes to their constituents, and assure them generally of our desire to meet them as friends, and eventually as neighbours, and of our wishes that a mutual good understanding may at all times prevail amongst us.

(Signed) Alex. Biggar,	C. Pickman,
John Cane,	John Kemble,
H. Ogle,	Chas. Adams,
J. D. Steller,	Thos. Carden,
D. C. Toohey,	W. Bottomley,
George Biggar,	F. Fynn,
Thos. Holstead,	R. King.

To which address the following reply was made:—

Port Natal, Oct. 23d, 1837.

Gentlemen,—After the very flattering reception experienced by me, on my arrival at Port Natal, I have no cause to regret my very arduous journey of 90 hours. With heart and hand I declare to you that the sentiments expressed by you, are those I also cherish. I have no doubt, therefore, but that the Almighty disposer of events will cause us to unite together for our mutual welfare.

If it please God, I intend communicating further with you on my return from Dingaan.

I remain, gentlemen,
your obt. servant and faithful Friend,
(Signed) P. Retief.

A. Biggar, Esq., and other gentlemen who signed the address.

Retief's own account of his proceedings will be found in the letter below:—

Port Natal, October 23d, 1837.

"With much pleasure I inform you, that after a very arduous journey of 90 hours, I arrived here with my fellow travellers in good health on the 20th inst. Mr. Maritz and Field-commandant Stephanus Erasmus, whom I had arranged to meet on the 1st of Oct on the Draakberg—not having arrived at the appointed time, I

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waited for them six days, and at last conjectured that they must have crossed the mountain at some other point,—and which I still fear, as Mr. Maritz proceeded directly due east. He was much further to the northward than myself, and although I shaped my course to the south-east, I was even then compelled, on the last day, to proceed in a line directly south. I fear that if Maritz has done the same, he will come out upon Dingaan's territory, and that he will not be very welcome, as I have been given to understand that Dingaan will not recognise as friends any persons who come from the direction of Matsellikatse. During the whole of my journey of six months, I have not experienced so much difficulty as in the last tour of 90 hours. From Draakberg to Port Natal I have crossed five nearly perpendicular acclivities,—the first took us six houis with the wagons, the others less; in some places we greatly fatigued our horses in riding right and left to find a path to descend,—as also in crossing large rivers and valleys, through which we could not find a passage for considerable distances; and as during the whole of that time we did not fall in with a single soul, we were obliged to find our way in the best manner we could, The merciful kindness and protection of Almighty God, hitherto extended to us, we must ever most gratefully acknowledge.

"I have now, from all accounts, travelled through the worst parts of the Natal country, and which I have found tolerably well suited for cattle and agricultural purposes. On this subject, however, I will write you at length on my return from Dingaan.

"I am extremely desirous to see and to speak to Dingaan; it is much feared here that I shall not succeed in obtaining an interview. I, however, fear not, as my conscience tells me that I go, not to do harm, but good. It is possible that I shall not succeed in my object, without a great deal of difficulty, and which I must patiently endure, as I consider it one of the most important matters for us to see him speedily. I also believe that the chief Sinkajala has committed a daring robbery upon Dingaan, and which the latter may lay to our charge,—as the rascal went out with a commando on horseback, to Dingaan's country, and returned from thence with upwards of two hundred head of cattle, and twenty or thirty *red* sheep, with which he passed my encampment; I have since ascertained here that he has robbed Dingaan of these cattle."

That the Kafir invasion of 1834—the neglect of compensating the sufferers for their losses by the savages, and the actual permission of the Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom, were the causes of the extension of the abandonment of the colony by our "yeomen," unquestionably "the finest peasantry in the world," may be seen by the annexed letter from one of the

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most respectable and opulent farmers who resided in the District of Uitenhage, but who joined his fellow sufferers across the boundary:—

"Sterrenberg Spruit, Dec. 4, 1837.

"The acts of my countryman Stockenstrom was my greatest reason for quitting the colony. What have the frontier inhabitants not had to endure, from time to time, from the Kafirs, and more particularly by the last war, or unexpected invasion? I have served the British government for many years, in the district of Uitenhage, as a burgher of the country, commencing with the year 1811 to the present period, with the greatest alacrity, and without the least remuneration. I have labored with my hands, and endeavored to bring up my family respectably; and when I found myself in a condition to do so, the Kafir banditti came and stripped me of all, as was the case in 1819 and again in 1834. By the last invasion I only retained 5 oxen and 7 calves, and not a single cow did the Kafirs leave me out of 74 milch cows, of the best Fatherland breed, and which were worth Rds. 50 each. What, therefore, have I left after many years of toil and anxiety? Absolutely *nothing!* My only consolation is, that what has so long been done in the dark, will one day be brought by the Almighty Ruler of Heaven and Earth, to the full blaze of day,—to Him alone belongs the vengeance! * * * How does it happen that the greatest vituperation is now lavished upon the poor farmers, by a certain party, for quitting the colony? Did not the LIEUT.-GOVERNOR HIMSELF *tell us that we were at liberty to go?* from whence comes it, then, that we are now blamed for doing so?"

The following remarks of the Editor of the "Meditator," a Cape Town periodical, may well conclude this part of the compilation of "THE NATAL PAPERS:"—

Whence is it that the emigration is not confined to a small party of contemptible adventurers, who have nothing to lose, and who have no other resource, but to seek, beyond the circle of civilization, for an asylum which society denies them; but embraces whole families, and hundreds of industrious cultivators of the soil, respectable Colonists, who abandon of a sudden their friends and their possessions, their fine climate, all the advantages of a community protected by the laws, and liberty to enjoy all the privileges of civilized society, to reject in one word, all that renders life supportable, to wander at hazard in unhospitable regions, without any consolation, but a desperate hope, without any other impelling cause than to fly from—what? From Plague?—From War?—From Earthquake?

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No! *From the paternal Government of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.* Assuredly his fatherly protection must have been an extraordinary one, to compel them to make so great a sacrifice. True it is, the *Advertiser* denies that His Honor's Government has the most remote connection with this emigration, but the very denial of this Journal establishes the fact.

We say, that even admitting that there had been several instances of desertion from certain districts of the interior, before Capt. Stockenstrom's administration, they were isolated cases, *few and far between*, and never in any shape endangering the prosperity of the colony; while since the Eastern Province has been blessed by his government, the *Emigration* HAS BECOME GENERAL, and it goes on daily, to an alarming extent. If then the Colonists were unfortunate prior to his assuming the government, we may naturally conclude, that, far from ameliorating their condition, he has rendered it more deplorable. At any rate, it is a matter of public notoriety, that hitherto the *Kafir Nation* has been the chief object of his paternal solicitude. The compliment now paid him by his fellow-countrymen,—for no one (but himself,) will forget that his Honor is a Native African, is therefore as intelligible as it is emphatical— "Rather than live under your laws we prefer to go to die among the Kafirs." This does not seem to us to be a very flattering compliment to the "*fittest man*," of the *Advertiser*, but there may be reasons why his Honor should be so highly *esteemed* by them. With this, be it as it may, we have nothing to do. Our object is to take into view what measures Government may find it expedient to adopt at the present juncture.

The numbers of wagons between the Orange River and the Draakberg range of Mountains, which skirt the country of Natal, is estimated at this time at 1,500, and certainly the number of souls could not be less than Fifteen Thousand, all in the highest spirits as they neared the goal, and delighted with the country, which they stated far exceeded the celebrated Oliphant's Hoek in the District of Uitenhage.

Retief preceded his party in order to open relations with the King Dingaan, who had been the first to suggest to a party of Dutch Farmers, while hunting in his dominions, the idea of an emigration to Natal. The following is an account of Retief's reception, as given by himself, and published in the "Graham's Town Journal:"—

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Extract of a letter from Mr. P. Retief, dated Port Natal, Nov. 18, 1837.

"Dingaan received me with much kindness, but has at the same time imposed a difficult task upon me, as you will see from the copy of his letter (marked No. 2). He finally told me with a smile on his countenance—" you do not yet know me, nor I you, and, therefore, we must become better acquainted." The King did not give me an audience, on the subject of my mission, till the third day after my arrival. He said I must not be hasty, and that as I had come from a great distance to see him, I must have rest, and partake of some amusement. During two days his people were engaged in exhibiting their national dances, and in warlike manœuvres. The first day upwards of two thousand of his youngest soldiers were assembled, and on the following day his elder warriors were exhibited to the number of four thousand. Their dances and manœuvres were were extremely imposing and interesting. Their sham fights are terrific exhibitions. They make a great noise with their shields and kieries, uttering at the same time the most discordant yells and cries. In one dance the people were intermingled with 176 oxen, all without horns and of one color. They have long strips of skin hanging pendant from the forehead, cheeks, shoulders, and under the throat, and which are cut from the hide when calves. These oxen are divided into two's and three's among the whole army, which then dances in companies, each with its attendant oxen. In this way they all in turn approach the King, the oxen turning off into a kraal, and the warriors moving in a line *from* the King. It is surprising that the oxen should be so well trained; for notwithstanding all the shouting and yelling which accompanies this dance, yet they never move faster than a slow walking pace. Dingaan showed me also, as he said, his *smallest* herd of oxen, all alike, red with white backs. He allowed two of my people to count them, and the enumeration amounted to two thousand four hundred and twenty-four. I am informed that his herds of red and black oxen consist of three to four thousand each.

" The King occupies a beautiful habitation. The form is spherical, and its diameter is 20 feet. It is supported in the interior by 22 pillars, which are entirely covered with beads. The floor is perfectly smooth, and shines like a mirror. His barracks consist of 1,700 huts, each capable of accommodating twenty warriors. But since its return from the expedition against Matsellikatse, his army is at an outpost. The King behaved to me with great kindness during all the time I was with him.

"Of the missionaries here, in general, I cannot speak too highly of their extreme kindness and attention. I visited Capt. Gardener

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on my way to and from the King, and was kindly received by him.

"I must now return with my work unaccomplished, which will cause me a great deal of anxiety and fatigue. But what can I do otherwise than leave our case in the hands of the Almighty, and patiently await His will. He will, I hope, strengthen me to acquit myself of my difficult task as becomes a christian; and although the duty which now devolves upon me through the misconduct of Sinkanyala is by me particularly regretted, yet my hope is in God, who will not forsake those who put their trust in him.

"I perceive with astonishment that there are yet persons in the colony, whose hostile feelings are still displayed towards us, and who continue to calumniate us, though so far removed. They seem to wish us evil, and to anticipate the difficulties we shall have to contend with. I can thank God that their wishes and their expectations have not yet been answered. They would act much wiser were they first to wait and see the result of the case before they express their sentiments."

The following correspondence which has passed between Dingaan and Mr. Retief, will be perused with great interest. It shews that Dingaan is quite capable of comprehending a question of policy distinctly, and that he entertains sound notions of equity —and—what is still more to the purpose—is disposed to act upon its principles in his dealings with the Emigrant farmers:—

(No. 1.)

Unkunglove, Oct. 31, 1837.

Sir,—The king desires me to say, "that he took the sheep which the bearers of this letter have from Umzelekaz,* that they belong to the Dutch, and that he is anxious to return them to their own masters. That his army took many more sheep than those which you see; but hundreds of them died on the road,—that many more have died since they came here,—and that he sends you their skins. From all that he can learn from a woman who was brought from Umzelekaz' country, there were but nine head of cattle belonging to the Dutch, which his army captured, and these have all died since they came here, or he would have sent them to you." Umthlela, the Indoona, who headed the army, says, "that Umzelekaz fled with a great many cattle, and he supposes that the greater part must have belonged to the Dutch." The king was displeased with Umzelekaz for attacking the Dutch. He says, "that he does not expect that all the sheep which he sends will reach Port Natal, but that

* *Umzelekaz* is another name for the chief *Matzelikatze*.

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many of them will die on the road." He says, "that he approves very much of the letter which you sent him."

I am, Sir, &c.,

F. Owen, Missionary from England.

The Chief's § mark.

P.S.—The number of sheep leaving this place to-day, is 110. The king will send the skins by his people as far as the Tugala; and says, "you can send a wagon thither, if you please, to fetch them."

The next letter (marked No. 2) reiterates these friendly sentiments, and also refers to the inroad made into Dingaan's territories by a party of maurauders, who appear to have passed themselves off as belonging to the emigrant farmers. We firmly believe Mr. Retief's disclaimer on this subject, not only because of that reliance which we have on his veracity, but because we heard at the time, from the mouth of a missionary who had seen the cattle brought in, that Sikonyela (the Mantatee chief living at the sources of the Caledon) had made an inroad into Dingaan's territory, and returned home with much booty. We have great hopes that Retief will be enabled to settle this unpleasant business by negotiation, and without having recourse to actual hostilities. Retief possesses too much prudence and humanity to engage in war, if it can be possibly avoided.

(No. 2.)

Unkunglove, Nov. 8, 1837.

Sir,—This is an answer to your letter of the 24th Oct., and the conversation which has now taken place.

I am sorry to hear that you have had such great losses by Umzelekaz. I took a great many of your sheep from Umzelekaz, many of which died on the road, many have died here; the remainder 110, I have already sent to you to the Tugala. I will send you the skins of the sheep which had died here to the Tugala. So far as I can understand from the woman who was brought from Umzelekaz' country, there were only nine head of cattle belonging to you, which I took, and these have all died, or I would have sent these too. I inform you that the cattle belonging to Umzelekaz have also died in great numbers, as I have shewn you by the skins. I understand by the army, that Umzelekaz has fled a great way off, that he has taken with him a great quantity of the Dutch cattle. Let me know the whole amount which you lost by Umzelekaz.

To go on now with the request you have made for the land, I am quite willing to grant it; but I first wish to explain that a great

many cattle have been stolen from me from the outskirts of my country, by people with clothing, horses, and guns. These people told the Zoolas that they were boers, and that one party was gone to Port Natal, and that they (the Zoolas) would see now what would come upon them. It is my wish now, that you should shew that you are not guilty of the charge which has been laid against you, as I now believe you to be. It is my request that you should retake my cattle and bring them to me; and if possible, send me the thief, and that will take all suspicion away from me, and I will cause you to know that I am your friend. I will then grant you your request. I will give you some men, enough to drive the cattle which you retake to me, which will remove the suspicion that the stolen cattle are in the hands of the Dutch; and I will also give you men whom you may send to make reports to me. If any cattle should be taken besides mine, I request that you will send them to me.

The mark ⋈ of the Chief DINGAAN.

Witness, F. OWEN,
To Pieter Retief, Esq., Governor
of the Dutch Emigrants.

The following is Mr. Retief's last communication to the Zoola King:—

(No. 3.)

To DINGAAN, King of the Zoolas.

Port Natal, Nov. 8th, 1837.

With pleasure I acknowledge your friendliness and justice with regard to my cattle taken by you from Matselikatse. I thank you concerning the skins which you so cheerfully offered to return; but I wish you to retain them for your own use and benefit. That so few of my cattle, as you say, were taken by your commando from Matselikatse I believe; because I have seen many of your cattle at different villages, but have not found among them one of my own. Matselikatse, I have no doubt, has fled; for he cannot but think and feel that I shall punish his very bad conduct. Already am I much grieved that I have been compelled to kill so many of his people, who only executed his cruel and wicked orders. What has now happened to Matsellikatse makes me believe that the Almighty and All-knowing God will not permit him much longer to live. From God's great Book we learn, that kings who do such things as Matselikatse has done are severely punished, and not suffered long to live and reign; and if you wish to hear more fully how God treats such wicked kings, you can enquire of all the missionaries in your country. You can believe what these teachers tell you concerning God and his government over the world. In regard to these things

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I must advise you frequently to speak with those gentlemen, who wish to teach you God's Word; for they will inform you with what great power God has governed and still governs all earthly kings.

I assure you it is a good thing for you that you have allowed teachers to settle in your country. Also I assure you teachers have come to you because God hath put it into their hearts so to do; and they can shew you out of the Bible, that what I now say is true. As a friend I must tell you this solemn truth, that all, whether white or black, who will not hear and believe God's word, shall be unhappy. These gentlemen have not come to ask you for your country, or for your cattle, or to give you trouble in any way; but merely to teach you and your people God's good word.

I now heartily thank the King for his kind and favorable answer to my requests; and I hope the king will remember his word and promise till I return. You may rest satisfied that I will do the same. I think it probable that before my return you will be troubled on account of the request I have made of you, and the promise you have given me; and I also think it possible that more may be told the king about me and my people than can be shewn to be true. Should such things be told you, my wish and request is, that when I return you will tell me who may have said such things. I am not afraid to meet in your presence any one who may speak evil of me or my people. My wish is, that you will not please, before my return, to hearken to any one who may trouble you about the land in which I wish to live.

In regard to the thieves who stole your cattle, what they said, viz.—that they were boers, was a cunning device, to make you think that I was the thief, in order that they might themselves escape unpunished.

I am confident that I shall prove to the King that I and my people are innocent of this crime. Knowing my innocency I feel that you have imposed on me a severe task, which I must perform, in order to shew that I am not guilty; for this which you require me to do, accompanied as it is with expense, trouble, and danger of life, I must answer to you, to the world, and to the all-knowing God. I now go, trusting in God, that I shall be able to execute this business in such a manner as that I shall have it in my power to give to all a satisfactory answer. This done, I shall then expect to be convinced that I have to do with a king who will keep his word.

I hope that a few of your people, and especially some from the kraals from which the cattle was stolen, will speedily follow me, according to agreement; and also that they will carefully obey all my orders.

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I thank you for the kind reception you gave me, and will endeavor always to show you equal kindness in return.

Your's truly,
(Signed) P. Retief.

P.S.—I enclose, for the King's information, a statement of persons murdered, and cattle plundered from the Emigrant Farmers by Matsellikatse, as follows:—

20 whites and 26 persons of color murdered, amongst whom were 9 women and 5 children.

Cattle plundered from 57 *persons.*

Saddle Horses,..........	51
Breeding do.	45
Draught Oxen, ...	945
Breeding Cattle,........	3,726
Sheep and Goats,......	50,745

Also 9 Guns, and 4 Wagons.

Signed, P. Retief.

During the course of these proceedings, and especially on the appearance of the manifesto of Retief, some hot and angry discussions took place as to the claims of the British Government to the allegiance of the self-expatriated Boers. The following hard sentences from Vattel were hurled at the heads of those who attacked the doctrine of independance, and altogether the disputants got up "a very pretty quarrel." Some argued that there was a law to prevent departure—others that the Governor had authority to issue a proclamation, "*ne exeat requo,*" and some that if there was no law to prevent migration there was one to prevent return, and that the severe penalty of fifty Rix-dollars or £3 15 0 (!) could be exacted from each Boer who came back. Whether the Colony had "failed to discharge its obligations," referred to by Vattel, I leave the Jurists to decide—but at all events such was alleged by the leading Boers as an excuee for their emigration. The English settlers, however, much more wisely awaited the effect of a constitutional representation of grievances, which, if is excepted the case of the slave compensation, they equally suffered with the Dutch farmers:—

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VATTEL, B. 1, Ch. 19, §223 —There are cases in which a citizen has an *absolute right* to *renounce* his country and *abandon it entirely* —a *right* founded on reasons derived from the *very nature of the social compact.* 1st —If the citizen cannot procure subsistence in his own country, &c. 2nd.—If the body of the society, or *he who represents it, absolutely fail to discharge their obligations towards a citizen, &c.*, for if one of the contracting parties does not observe his engagement the other is no longer bound to fulfil his, &c. 3rd.—If the major part of the nation &c, attempt to enact laws, relative to matters on which the social compact cannot oblige every citizen to submission, &c. they have a right to quit the soil and settle elsewhere, and if the *society suffers and is weakened by their departure the blame must be imputed to the intolerant party.* § 225.—The *right* to *emigrate* is a *natural* right, which is certainly reserved to *each individual in the very compact itself by which civil society was formed.* If the Sovereign attempts *to molest those* who have a right to emigrate he does them an iujury, and the injured individuals may law fully, &c.

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P.S.—The circumstance of the Compiler residing at so great a distance from the place of publication (96 miles) will account for many typographical and other errors which he has in consequence been unable to correct as the sheets passed through the press.

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PUBLISHING IN LONDON,

AND EXPECTED TO

ARRIVE IN THE COLONY BY FIRST VESSEL,

THE

EASTERN PROVINCE

OF

HER MAJESTY'S COLONY

OF THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

RECOMMENDED AS AN IMMIGRATION FIELD.

BY JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE.

"I speak of Africa and golden joys."

CONTENTS:

—o—

PART THE FIRST:

Sect. 1.—The Discovery and Occupation.
2.—General Description of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.
3.—Description of the Eastern Province.
4.—History of the Origin and Progress of the British Settlement, established in the Districts of Albany and Uitenhage, on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1820.

PART THE SECOND:

Sect. 1.—Present state of the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony as regards—Government—Law—Religion—Education & Schools—the Press and Periodical Literature—Agriculture—Trade and Commerce—Post Communication and Roads—Amusements—Naval and Military Defence, including Relations with the Kafir Tribes.

PART THE THIRD:

Sect. 1.—Advantages of the Cape as an Immigration Field to Capitalists.
2.—To Laborers and the Labor Question
3.—Recapitulation.

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View of Uitenhage,
View of Port Elizabeth,
The Isle of Santa Cruz, Algoa Bay,
Table Mountain and Table Bay,
Plan of the Mouth of the Great Fish River,
Great Seal of the Eastern Province,
A Map, and
Numerous Vignettes.

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NATAL,

A RE-PRINT

OF ALL

THE AUTHENTIC NOTICES—DESCRIPTIONS—PUBLIC ACTS AND DOCUMENTS—PETITIONS—MANIFESTOES—CORRESPONDENCE—GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS AND PROCLAMATIONS—BULLETINS AND MILITARY DESPATCHES RELATIVE TO NATAL,

WITH A

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT THAT SETTLEMENT

IN TWO PARTS.

PART THE SECOND,

FROM A. D. 1838 TO A. D. 1843.

BY

JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE,

NOTARY PUBLIC, &c.

GRAHAM'S TOWN:
R. GODLONTON, PRINTER, HIGH-STREET.

1843.

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THE NATAL PAPERS;

A RE-PRINT

OF ALL

NOTICES AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

CONNECTED WITH THAT TERRITORY,

INCLUDING A

Description of the Country,

AND A

HISTORY OF EVENTS

FROM ITS DISCOVERY IN 1498,

TO THE MISSION OF THE

HON. H. CLOËTE L.L.D. &c. IN 1843,

IN TWO PARTS,

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

INCLUDING A

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE STEPS TAKEN BY

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, G. C. B., &c.,

LATE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY,

FOR THE TRANQUILLIZATION OF THE FRONTIER,

ESPECIALLY AS REGARDED THE

EMIGRATION OF THE FARMERS.

BY

JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE,

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GRAHAM'S TOWN:

PUBLISHED BY R. GODLONTON, GRAHAM'S TOWN, AND
A. S. ROBERTSON AND J. H. COLLARD, CAPE TOWN.

1843.

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COMPILER'S NOTICE.

The object of the present compilation has been already stated in a memorandum to the first part, to which the Compiler believes there is nothing to add.

He regrets that the difficulties attendant on the publication of such a work in this Colony, arising from the distance of the press and the want of labor, should have so long protracted its completion.

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NATAL;

PART THE SECOND.

A.D. 1838.

We resume the narrative of affairs at Natal:

The result of poor Retief's visit to Sikenyelli, his return to Dingaan with the cattle that chief had stolen from the Zoola monarch (laying the blame on the boers)—the melancholy fate of Retief and his companions, are thus well told by Mr. J. Boshoff :—

"It is, I believe, pretty well known to the public, that Mr. Maritz from this place, and his party, were some of the first of any note who left the colony in search of a place of residence in some part of the extensive unoccupied lands in the interior of this country. Soon after, the late lamented Retief followed, and when they joined, an attempt was made to establish some sort of provisional government, until they should be enabled to settle permanently. It was their intention at first to proceed far into the interior, with the view to settle in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay, for the purpose of carrying on a trade with the inhabitants of that settlement; but as many of the party never calculated the distance to be so great, and learning moreover that the climate was rather unhealthy, they prevailed upon the late Retief to explore the country towards Natal, —a position which they considered far preferable, and where it had been reported to them there was an immense tract of land in that direction totally unoccupied.

As it was the wish of the emigrants to remain at peace with the various tribes through which they might pass, as well as those surrounding them, and as they entertained this feeling, notwithstanding

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the attack and plunder upon them by Matsellikatze *long before they had even reached the boundary of his country*, it was resolved, on being informed that the Zoola chief Dingaan claimed a right to all that extensive waste lying between the Tugala and Umsimvoobo,—*not to approach that country with their families and cattle, before they had come to amicable terms with him.* For that purpose the late Pieter Retief, attended by a small party, proceeded to his residence. Retief, deceived by the crafty Dingaan, placed such implicit confidence in his friendship, that he doubted not, and soon persuaded his whole party, that providence had opened a door for them, and that they would be able to live contented and safe in the immediate neighborhood of Dingaan's people. Accordingly in January last they descended the Draakberg, excepting Uys, who, not content with the form of government established by Retief and Maritz, and having had some personal disputes with the latter, he and his party kept back on the north of the Drakenberg.

As soon as Retief had executed his commission by compelling the Mantatee chief Sikonyella to restore the property of which he had plundered Dingaan, according to agreement with him (*which he managed to effect without the least shedding of blood*, restoring 700 head of cattle, 60 to 70 horses, and 30 guns), he resolved upon a second visit to Dingaan, intending to take with him a party of 200 men, supposing that by the warlike appearance of such a body of mounted men, the Zoola chief would stand in some awe of them, and that he would then have such respect for them, as at least to consider it his own interest to keep the treaties which he had in part made, and which Retief was then going up purposely to ratify. On the other hand he thought Dingaan would look upon it as a great honor to himself, he being passionately fond of dances and warlike exhibitions, and exercises. Maritz, however, and some others, who could not forget the conduct of Matsellikatse, were inclined, if not to doubt Dingaan's friendly intentions, at least to give him no opportunity of executing any sinister design; and they, therefore, told Retief candidly that they disapproved of his intention, and that they feared the Zoola tyrant would not let slip an opportunity of striking a blow, when he found them too confident of safety,—trusting themslves in his hands in his own kraal, and amidst the Zoola nation. Mr. Maritz even went so far as to offer to go himself, attended only by two or three men, observing that "if they were destroyed it would be quite enough." By this time they had received some vague and varying reports that Dingaan had greatly altered with respect to the Emigrants after Retief had left him on his first visit. Most unfortunately, however, Retief was not to be shaken in his confidence in Dingaan's friendship and goodwill; but as so many objections were made and apprehensions en-

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tertained, he declined issuing an order for any one to accompany him, but left it to such as might volunteer for the purpose.

In the beginning of February he left the encampments of the Emigrants—who were already beginning to separate into small parties about the Blaauw Krans and Bushman rivers—his party consisting of 70 farmers, and about thirty achter-ryders and servants. Besides their muskets and ammunition, they had with them about 200 horses.

On their departure they received the admonitions of several of their relatives and friends to be cautious; and—however apparently well-disposed they might find Dingaan—never to be unarmed or off their guard.

Notwithstanding the warnings and cautions Retief and his party received, Dingaan so well knew how to deceive them, and to gain their confidence so completely, that he inveigled them within an enclosure before his house, unarmed too, just as they were up-saddling to depart, and massacred in cold blood every living soul of them, not allowing one to escape to tell the horrid tale!*

As the time fixed by Retief for his return had elapsed, and rumours were spread about that a Zoola—talking across the river at one of the encampments to another then in the service of the farm-

* The account of the same transaction, by the American Missionaries at Natal, states that—

"On the morning of Saturday, Feb. 3d, Mr. Retief and party approached the capital; and exhibited a sham fight on horseback. At this Dingaan expressed great gratification, and requested one hundred rounds to be fired; which, however, was not complied with. The dance was held on that and the two following days. Monday afternoon all the regiments, except that consisting of the youngest recruits, were dismissed. Dingaan consented to allow the emigrants to settle in the country from the Umtogela to the Umzimvoobo rivers—an extent of four hundred miles, which was laid waste by Chaka. The papers were to be signed on Tuesday, and Mr. Retief was to leave on his return.

On that fatal Tuesday, the massacre took place. The papers containing the grant was found in the portmanteau of the unfortunate Retief after the defeat of Dingaan on the 22d December, and served to recognize the remains of that unfortunate man. A doubt has been attempted to be thrown upon the authenticity of the document, but it is well known that the whole of the African tribes have a horror at touching anything belonging to a body once dead. The character of Retief is thus pourtrayed by the American Missionary, Mr. Lindley, under date of December 1st, 1837:—

The governor, Myn Heer Retief, was with us several days. He is, I feel sure, a worthy man; I even hope he is pious. In the colony he sustains a good character. He has, unasked, taken pains to impress Dingaan favorably towards the Missionaries. He wrote the Zoola chief a letter, and as he writes in the Dutch language, found it necessary to have it translated into English. This service I performed, at his request, and was much pleased with the entire spirit of the communication.

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ers—had said that all the white men were dead; as also that a large party of the Zoolas had been seen together on the other side of the Tugala, a small patrol was at length sent out over the Tugala into Dingaan's territory, pretending to be hunting buffaloes; and as they actually took their course towards the spot where Dingaan's army was then encamped behind a hill, and had approached to within a few hundred yards, an old Zoola met them and enquired what they were looking for, and upon being told that they were hunting, he pointed in a different direction, where he said there were many buffaloes. But as they still persisted in going on, the Zoola went before them, and strenuously insisted upon their taking the direction pointed out by him. Here, again, they were unfortunate enough, with a view to avoid suspicion, actually to suffer themselves to be turned about: On their return a report was made, of course, that they had discovered nothing, and the people were once more persuaded that there was no cause for apprehending any danger,—nay more, those who still inclined the other way were laughed at and accused of cowardice. Early in the morning of the second day after the return of this patrol, on a Saturday morning, the hour was come that all should be undeceived. The Zoolas, who by their spies had mixed frequently with the farmers, and who knew their position so well that they could execute their bloody purpose to their utmost desire, began to attack both the encampments, situated at the Blaauw Krans River and Bushman's River, about ten miles asunder, at the same moment. The attack having been begun a little before day-light, many of the farmers at the out posts were butchered before they awoke; and others only just opened their eyes to close them again for ever! As day began to dawn, the Zoolas were perceived at some of the scattered wagons,—they had surrounded them, and the cries of women and children were heard mingled with the report of the few shots that were fired now and then; but the word "mercy" was unknown to these miscreants. So perfectly taken by surprise was the encampment that not a few of the parties in the vicinity, upon hearing the few shots fired, were congratulating themselves on the circumstance, thinking that Retief and his party had at last returned, and were firing a salute. No preparation for defence was made until daylight enabled them to see the approach of the ferocious enemy. Then every one flew to arms, and a resolute resistance was made. Parties of three and four, in their night clothes, were seen to defend themselves with success against whole Zoola regiments,—the women assisting in carrying about ammunition for the men, and encouraging them. A little son of Mr. Maritz, about 10 years old, was repeatedly told by his mother to go and hide himself, but he as often replied "I see no place where to hide myself, give me the pistol and let me shoot too." Small parties of three, four and five, were now coming in from all

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directions; and at the Bushman's River the savages having at last been repulsed by less than 50 men, they fled precipitately through the river, which was rather swollen, and being fired upon as they crossed the river up to their breasts and chin in water, hand-in-hand to support each other, many were drowned and shot.

At the Blaauw Krans they were also repulsed, but the farmers, after pursuing them a short distance, had to return to their wagons, which they brought together to form a close camp, and then to search for and attend to the wounded, which fully occupied them that day. On the following day Mr. Maritz, at the head of about 50 men, resumed the pursuit of the enemy, but as they had been left unmolested for the greater part of the previous day, they succeeded in carrying off to a safe distance over the Tugala, the greater part of the cattle, between 20 and 25,000 head, as also some sheep, and tho goods plundered at the wagons. Maritz only recovered what was still on their side of the river; and wherever his little band appeared the enemy fled without offering any resistance. At the river they found a large body of Zoolas endeavoring to drive cattle and sheep across the stream, but upon being attacked they rushed into the water, and here again several were shot and many more drowned. It was now about dusk, the river greatly swollen, and the few fordable places dangerous in the extreme. Maritz and his party, therefore, with tears flowing over their cheeks, were compelled to leave their property in the hands of the enemy, and to return to their wagons. This day search had again been made for the maimed and wounded, and several found, but of these very few indeed were in such a state as to afford any hope of their recovery. To hear of the number of wounds inflicted upon some who have recovered is incredible; one child who had received 30, and a woman 22 assegai-wounds, are still living, though injured for life. It is believed that about 500 Zoolas fell on this occasion, besides the wounded and those that were drowned. At one place about eight or ten families, the Rensburg's and Pretorius', were driven from their wagons to the top of an adjoining hill, which was only accessible from two sides. Fourteen men here stood to their defence against a whole Zoola regiment, the number of which increased to about 1,500. Repeated assaults were made for about an hour, but the gallant little party as repeatedly drove them back, until at last their ammunition failed, and no hope was left. But providentially at this critical moment two mounted men came to their assistance, and made their way to the top of this hill through the line of Zoolas, and upon learning there that the ammunition of the party was almost expended, they undertook, at the most imminent peril of their lives, to force their way back to the wagons, from whence they safely returned at full speed with an ample supply. All this was done in less than five minutes, and as the firing now began with greater vi-

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gor than before, the Zoolas retreated, and as a few more burghers arrived, they were soon put to flight, leaving on that spot about 80 killed. Several more striking anecdotes of bravery and resolution on this trying occasion could be told on the part of the defenders; but it would require too much space.

The particulars of the appalling butchery at Dingaan's kraal, is given by William Wood, a Natal settler, who witnessed the dreadful spectacle from the Rev. Mr. Owen's residence, situated on a hill opposite that barbarian's Golgotha:—

The farmers had been at Megoonloof about two days, during which they walked about the kraal unarmed, but had taken the precaution of placing their arms under the protection of their servants or after-riders, who had taken up their quarters under the two milk trees without the kraal. On the morning of the third day, I perceived from Dingaan's manner that he intended some mischief; although from his conversation with his captains, I could not perceive that he had given them any orders prejudicial to the farmers; I, however, watched my opportunity to warn them to be on their guard. This occurred when some of the farmers strolled into the kraal, and having come near the place where I was standing, I told them I did not think all was right, and recommended them to be on their guard; upon which they smiled and said, 'We are sure the king's heart is right with us, and there is no cause for fear.'

A short time after this, Dingaan came out of his hut, and having seated himself in front of it, in his arm chair, ordered out two regiments, one was called the Umklanga Umklopa, or white shields; and the other, the Umklanga Umyana, or black shields; the former were his best men, and wore rings on their heads, formed of the bark of a tree and grass, and stitched through the scalp; and the latter regiment was composed entirely of young men. These troops he caused to form in a circle, and having placed his two principal captains on his right and left hand, respectively, he sent a message to Retief, inviting him to bring his men and wish the king farewell previously to starting. Retief, a short time after this, entered the kraal, accompanied by the other farmers, and all their servants with the exception of one or two who were sent out to fetch the horses; their arms being left unguarded under the two milk trees without the kraal.

On Retief approaching Dingaan, the latter told him to acquaint the farmers at Natal, as soon as he arrived there, of the king's desire that they should soon come and possess the land he had given them, also to remember him to them. He then wished the party an agreeable journey to Natal, and invited them to sit down and drink

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some chullah with him and his people, which invitation they unfortunately accepted.

Retief sat by the king; but the farmers and their servants sat in a place by themselves, at a short distance from the king and his captains. After drinking some beer together, Dingaan ordered his troops to amuse the farmers by dancing and singing, which they immediately commenced doing. The farmers had not been sitting longer than about a quarter of an hour when Dingaan called out, '*Seize them!*' *upon which an overwhelming rush was made upon the party before they could get on their feet. Thomas Halstead then cried out, 'We are done for!' and added in the Zoolah language, 'Let me speak to the king!' which Dingaan heard, but motioned him away with his hand. Halstead then drew his knife and ripped up one Zoolah, and cut another's throat, before he was secured: and a farmer also succeeded in ripping up another Zoolah.*

The farmers were then dragged, with their feet trailing along the ground, each man being held by as many Zoolahs as could get to him, from the presence of Dingaan, who still continued sitting and calling out, 'Blala ma tayate!' or 'Kill the wizards!' He then said, 'Take the heart and the liver of the king of the farmers and place them in the road of the farmers' When they had dragged them to the hill, Kloma Amaboota, they commenced the work of death by striking them on the head with knobbed sticks; Retief being held and forced to witness the deaths of his comrades before they dispatched him. It was a most awful occurrence, and will never be effaced from my memory

Retief's heart and liver were taken out, wrapped in a piece of cloth, and brought to Dingaan. His two captains Inlellah and Tambooza, then came and sat down by Dingaan, with whom they conversed for some time. About two hours after the massacre, orders were issued that a large party were to set off with all speed, and attack the wagons that contained the wives and children of the murdered farmers, which were at a considerable distance from Megoonloof, as Retief and his party had left them there, not wishing to bring their families into any danger.

I subjoin, in conclusion, the account of Mr. A. Bigger, one of the British settlers of 1820, who had migrated to Natal, and who was soon himself destined to fall under the same fate which he herein deplores for his poor boy. This family, one of the most respectable of the settlers, was particularly unlucky, as the father and two sons all fell at this wretched place :—

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Extract of a letter from Mr. Alexander Biggar, to Capt. Evatt, dated Port Natal, 17th March, 1838:—

"Your letter per *Mary* found us in a similar situation as your last did—within four walls, or a camp; not from fear of an immediate attack from the Zoolas, but as a matter of precaution. I have an awful tale to tell of the base treachery of Dingaan, by which I have lost my beloved son, who fell a victim on the 17th February, in the attack of the Zoolas upon the Boers' wagons. Retief, with 60 boers and their achter riders, in all about 100, arrived at Dingaan's on the 3d February, with the cattle which they had retaken. From the best accounts it seems they arranged matters satisfactorily with the tyrant, who gave them the whole of the Natal country, notwithstanding he had given it away so often.

They had saddled up to return, when they were invited to take leave of him, and partake of some refreshment, but were told *not to bring their guns with them*. While in the act of drinking beer and milk, they were suddenly seized and dragged about half a mile to their place of execution. They then fell upon them, and with knob-kieries murdered them all. One young man of Port Natal (Thomas Halstead) had been employed as interpreter, and was privately informed of their intention, and we hear did tell Retief and party of what he had been informed, but they put no faith in it, as Dingaan had been *so kind* to them. Halstead, having his fears, carried his open knife, and when about being seized, stabbed one Zoola through the throat, and gave another a deep wound in the side. He was kept a spectator of the murder of the boers, and then shared their fate. After this dismal tragedy Dingaan dispatched a commando to surprise the boers The news did not reach me until the 13th, when in the utmost alarm for the safety of my dear George, I instantly dispatched two trusty men with a letter to apprise him of this sad event, and to communicate the dismal tale to the boers But Providence had ordered it otherwise. They did not reach the camp until the day after the surprise, which took place on the dawn of the 17th February. The boers were quite unprepared, never contemplating an attack from that quarter. The numbers killed* we have not heard. The rivers being full our communication with them has been cut off. How they could have been so fatally blind to their danger is much to be wondered at.

"That Dingaan meant to kill the boers whenever he could, there is abundant proof. Retief and his party owed their safety on a

* Altogether about 616 were massacred, viz.:—

African Dutch Farmers, ...	120
Women, ...	55
Children	191
Colored People	250

former occasion to the refusal of a chief to whom Dingaan had given orders to kill them, and for which refusal he was nearly destroyed by Dingaan, and obliged to fly to this place for safety. I wrote to Retief to caution him to be on his guard, and he had warnings from other quarters not to place too much confidence; but all proved unavailing,—they are gone to that bourne from whence no traveller returns. Peace to their manes!

"The massacre took place on the 6th February. A commando from this place sets off to-day to co-operate with the boers; my lameness prevents my accompanying it, and the death of my son at present overpowers me. I remain to command this place.

"We daily receive deserters, who report the Zoola nation in great confusion from their severe defeat,—the boers having, on recovering from the suddenness of the attack, killed vast numbers. Dingaan has called out the whole nation, but our informants state their refusal to renew the attack, alleging that "it was of no use to go against a people they could not get at, as they were killed before they could get near enough to stab." * * * The critical arrival of the Mary with lead, has put all into good spirits, as we had little indeed before her arrival,—of gunpowder we have an ample stock. * * * * On the night of the surprise the boers took a Zoola prisoner, from whom they first learned the fate of Retief's party. He enumerated to one of my Kafirs the names of the ten Zoola regiments which made the attack, and as they are composed of about 1,000 each, the force employed must have been about 10,000.

"In consequence of the receipt of a letter by Captain Gardiner from Lord Glenelg, declining to acknowledge this place, and afford him any support, he also goes from hence. The *Ligonier* by her charter was to remain 21 days after her arrival, and she is to be kept on until the arrival of the *Comet*. Our commando left on the 13th, in the direction of the boers, not to join but to co-operate with them. It amounted to about 1,000 men, of which 250 had guns. You shall hear further from me per *Ligonier*.

Sir George Napier took the reins of the Colonial Government from the hands of the much loved and sagacious Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the early part of this year. To succeed so popular a magistrate was in itself unpropitious, which the conduct of the new Functionary did not render less so; but the character with which he arrived in the Colony had prepared the inhabitants to receive him with respect and affection, and he was thus hailed by the Graham's Town Press:—

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We have reason to conclude from what we have heard respecting this officer, that he is a man of independent mind, and withal —which is the great consideration with us—of honest principles. He is said to be a *whig* in politics; but this is of little consequence to the inhabitants of this province, provided he "*have a conscience*," and is himself governed by the dictates of *common sense*. Every Governor of this colony, who had an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of his subject, has been compelled, whatever his previous views and feelings, to come to one conclusion with respect to the character of the natives beyond our borders, and of the privations and difficulties which the exposed inhabitants have had to contend with, arising from their continual forays within the colony. *The great questions, therefore, with us are, not what are the politics of our Governor, and on which side does he vote? but is he an honest man, and has he sufficient mind to scorn to execute measures which his conscience tells him are unjust in principle, and most injurious to those whose interests it is his duty to protect?*

Soon after His Excellency's arrival he left Cape Town for the Frontier Districts, still smarting under the effects of the Kafir invasion, and indignant at the scandalous reversal of Sir Benjamin's policy, and the substitution of another pregnant with mischief. On the road he was met by Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, who, availing himself of the detention caused by two successive rainy days, imbued his mind with the highest opinion of his own new system, and tutored him into the belief that all the opposition he had hitherto encountered had had its rise among disappointed and factious individuals in the Eastern Province. The first town His Excellency visited was that of Port Elizabeth, whose population, exclusively English, contained many intelligent and independent persons, who addressed him on the aspect of public affairs, to whom, under the instigation, and in the presence of the Lieut.-Governor, who stood by to enjoy the mortification of the gentlemen presenting the address, he returned an uncourteous answer, made still more objectionable by the tone and manner in which it was conveyed. The Governor at this place too, after the avowal of his rash and dogged determination to carry out the Stockenstrom system, lectured both the military and civil functionaries, threatening them with dismissal when in his power, and

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suspension from their offices if he had not the right to inflict the first punishment, unless they fell in with and fully supported the view he then declared he had embraced. His conduct on this memorable occasion, as well as that of his staff, who sneered at the town people as "Tinkers and Dealers in soap, who had no right to meddle with politics!" has been and will long continue to be held in remembrance. The following is the address and reply:—

PORT ELIZABETH.

To His Excellency Major-General Sir George T. Napier, C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, &c. &c.

May it please Your Excellency,

We the Undersigned, Inhabitants of Port Elizabeth, desire to offer to your Excellency our sincere expressions of congratulation on your arrival in the Eastern Province of this Colony.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity now afforded us of testifying our attachment to our Parent Country, our ardent loyalty to our youthful Queen, and our sentiments of devotion to your Excellency as her Representative.

Arriving as your Excellency now does at a most eventful crisis in the history of the Colony, we consider it as a duty we owe to ourselves and to our families, to submit to your Excellency in respectful, but decided language, the grievances under which we are laboring, and which are fast tending to depopulate this once flourishing Province.

We are unfortunately too well aware that our representations have not hitherto met with that attention to which we have vainly imagined they were justly entitled. Knowing, however, that the very existence of the Colony is at stake, we are induced to make another effort by bringing these gravely important subjects under your Excellency's consideration.

As a mercantile community, feeling our commerce to be daily on the decline,—seeing by the Custom House returns that the decrease of the amount of Exports is considerable, and finding the chief necessaries of life to be doubled and trebled in value, we are naturally led to trace the causes of this alarming change,

To the ruinous and mistaken policy so pertinaciously pursued in our relations with our Kafir neighbours, and to the sacrifice of measures based on the principles of justice and equity in favor of visionary and Utopian theories, must we attribute the unfortunate results which we now deplore;

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A policy which has had the effect of driving so large a portion of our most valuable border farmers from their colonial homes; and which is to this day operating with increasing force upon those remaining.

The extraordinary provisions of the Treaties entered into with the Kafir tribes, and the employment of a Native police, on whose honesty little reliance can be placed, have a most vexatious effect upon that portion of the colonists, who, by their contiguity to the boundary, are most exposed to depredations.

Another grievance which presses heavily on the farmers in all parts of the Province, and which adds materially to the insecurity of property, is the lamentable and uncontrolled state of vagrancy; which, from the insufficiency of the laws, the weak and widely spread civil power is unable to repress.

The dangerous and highly pernicious experiment of locating the Hottentots (whose fidelity recent events have proved to be not beyond the price,) on the borders, in immediate contact with the Kafirs, is another part of a system pregnant with evil to the colony; and the fatal effects of which may be discovered when it is too late to apply a remedy.

Sincerely do we lament that measures have not been adopted which might have a tendency to check the spreading rage for emigration. Under the present system *we do not hesitate to avow our opinion, that, should our Dutch fellow-Colonists prove successful in the arduous struggle in which they are now engaged with the Zoola chieftain, at no very distant period, they will be joined by at least the half of the Dutch inhabitants now in the Colony.*

We beg to call your Excellency's particular attention to the smallness of the European force now upon the Frontier (not exceeding 1,000 effective men) a force which we conceive to be inadequate, under present circumstances, to the defence and protection of the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects on so extended a line of frontier.

We crave permission to urge the subjects to which we have briefly adverted, on your Excellency's most earnest consideration; desiring only an impartial examination into facts, which will speak for themselves in far more intelligible terms than we can adopt; we take our leave with every confidence in your Excellency's anxious desire to promote the best interests of this Colony, without fear, favor, or prejudice.

REPLY OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

Port Elizabeth, 9th April, 1838.

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your congratulations on my arrival in the eastern province of this Colony; and, as Her Majesty's

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Representative, I have also to thank you for the expression of ardent loyalty to our youthful Queen contained in the Address you have done me the honor to present.

Gentlemen, you say in that Address that you consider it a duty you owe to yourselves and your families, to submit to me in respectful but *decided* language, the grievances under which you are laboring, and which are fast tending to depopulate this once flourishing province; and then you enter into a general and vague charge against the policy of the measures pursued by the Government, and particularly against the treaties with the Kafir tribes. *Now, Genlemen, I as decidedly tell you, that I accepted the Government of this Colony in the conviction that the former system, as regarded our Kafir neighbours, was erroneous; and I am come out here agreeing in, and determined to support, the system of policy pursued by the Lieut. Governor of these districts, in accordance with the instructions which His Honor and myself have received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, To that opinion, and in that determination, I still adhere.**

With regard to *your* opinion of the insufficiency of the number of troops for the defence of the frontier, till I have seen the line of defence it is impossible for me to say whether you are right or wrong; but at the same time, I must tell you, that upon such a point as the military defence of these districts, I hold myself to be a competent judge, without the assistance or opinions of the gentlemen who have signed the Address; and

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient humble Servant,
G. NAPIER, Governor.

To Messrs. W. Smith, J. Blackburn, W. M. Harries, C. F. Silberbauer.

This petulant and early indication of the Governor's sentiments, intended by him and Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom as a *coup d'état* to frighten the inhabitants and suppress all further opposition, disappointed every true hearted colonist, especially as Sir George had been represented by his friends previous to his arrival as likely to save the country and heal its distracted state. It also supplied a fresh impetus to the

* The colonists could not help *contrasting* Sir George Napier's flippant reply with the noble admission of Lord Durham, when he visited the Canadas, on an almost similar mission, viz. ;—*that he had arrived in those colonies, not merely ignorant, but with very erroneous notions of their real condition*"—a frank and manly avowal, very different from the Cape Governor's rash and hasty answer.

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migration *mania*, and hundreds who still lingered to ascertain the feelings and disposition of the new Governor, thus shocked and irritated, threw themselves, their families and fortunes at once recklessly into the wilderness.

The public announcement of His Excelleney's views were received by the anti-colonial party with a yell of triumph, and the very man who has since become the object of that party's deadliest hatred, was hailed as the saviour of the state, with having "*by one stroke of his pen delivered this colony from the nightmare, and indicated a rallying point where the best wishes of the upright and loyal can meet repose!!!*"

A furious attempt was also made at the same period by the self-same party to enlist the new Governor into a crusade against the unfortunate emigrants. Fire and faggot articles appeared in quick succession, recommending the axe, the rope, outlawry, and confiscation, and the departure of the Boers, now no longer able to be concealed, was made a subject of rejoicing, as their places, it was predicted, would be filled up by a better set of settlers, immigrants from England!

It was a remark, (says a writer of the times), of the sagacious Major Dalgetty, founded upon his ample experience under the "Immortal Gustavus," that intromitting with the women and children of the Boers of the Low Countries, was rarely calculated to excite in *their* breasts feelings of philanthropy. And why was this? Whose bosom is so cold? whose arm is so weak? Is the earth encumbered with the craven wretch who would not avenge the desolation of *his own* hearth? who does not feel? who would not act with Macduff, when the "*Hell Kite*" had snatched from him "*all! all!!* his tender chickens, and their dam at one fell swoop?"

Who under the circumstances of the Emigrant Farmers could have acted otherwise than they did, and prepare for such a fearful act of treachery as fearful a revenge?—

After the treacherous massacre of the benevolent and ill-fated Retief, and his brave compatriots, and the subsequent savage butchery of 240 women and children at the emigrants' camp, the farmers re-

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solved to take the field, to enter the Zoola country, and, if possible, to avenge on the head of the ruthless Dingaan, the author of all this bloodshed, his wanton slaughter of their hapless countrymen.

Accordingly on the 6th of April, a force consisting of between 3 and 400 mounted men, marched from the encampment, under the command of Piet Uys and J. Potgieter. On entering Dingaan's territory they found the country abandoned, and it was not till they came near UNKUNGINGLOVE, the capital and principal residence of the King, that they met with any obstruction. They arrived in this neighborhood on the morning of the 11th April, and found the Zoola army drawn np in three divisons, 7,000 strong, and advantageously posted on some rocks which formed a half circle. The road to the royal residence lay through a narrow pass in this circle, and on each side of this opening the enemy were awaiting the attack. The third division lay in ambush, with the evident intention of closing in upon the farmers in the rear, should they enter this circle, and so preventing their escape. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers the farmers resolved on an immediate attack. They divided themselves into two nearly equal divisions, and at once opposed themselves to the two divisions of the Zoola army.

One division on the first onset was completely routed. It appears that from the noise made in beating their shields, and by the shouting of the warriors, their horses took fright, and they were thus thrown into irrecoverable confusion. The division under Piet Uys was thus left to sustain the rush of the whole Zoola force, and it nobly did its duty. By a steady well-directed fire, the farmers had thrown the enemy into some confusion, but from this they recovered, and the gallant little band soon found itself hemmed in on every side. Every man fought desperately, and so did the Zoolas. The fight had continued an hour-and-a-half, when the farmers, finding every moment their danger becoming more imminent, directed a steady fire to one point of the circle, and having made a line completely through the enemy, they effected their retreat, leaving, at the lowest computation, from 5 to 600 Zoolas dead on the field.

At the commencement of the engagement, when the Zoolas were thrown into confusion, the commander, Piet Uys, followed by about twenty men, rushed gallantly forward upon the enemy, followed them into a kloof, and were there hemmed in by an immense body of the Zoolas. Uys fought in the most heroic manner, but fell with nine of his companions. *His son, a boy 12 years of age, fought and fell bravely by his father's side* Uys was severely wounded in the thigh by a spear, but he continued fighting, until he fell exhausted from loss of blood. His last words were—"*Fight your way out, my brave boys; I must die.*" The Boers, on this occasion, lost ten of their number.

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The farmers, in their retreat, shot a great number of the Zoolas who were pursuing them, and the latter at length retired, after sending forward seven spies to watch where they should take up a position for the night. These were perceived,—a party of farmers were stationed in a field of Indian corn, the seven Zoolas were intercepted, and not one of them was left to fulfil the errand on which he had been sent.

On the day on which this severe action was fought, the Natal settlers, under the command of Mr. R. Biggar, marched from the Port, to co-operate with the farmers. On the morning of the 17th April, they at length came in contact with the Zoola army, flushed with the victory, as they conceived it, which they had just before gained over the farmers. The Natal force, it is said, consisted of 800 men, 300 of whom were armed with guns and supplied with powder and ball. The hostile forces immediately came to action. The conflict was desperate and bloody, as the result was most disastrous. Two thirds of the Natal settlers fell. Amongst them were thirteen Europeans and ten Hottentots. It is said that the Zoolas lost, in this engagement, three entire regiments, of 1000 men each.

After the defeat of the Natal settlers, two Dutch farmers, named Jacobus Uys and Badenhuis, arrived with a message from the emigrants' camp. Arrangements were made for mutual protection, and a promise given that 200 farmers should be sent to the Port for the protection of the place.

Previous to this, and shortly after the defeat of the Natal force, the Zoolas poured down upon the settlement at the Port. They remained there three days, and swept it of every head of cattle. From the vessel in the harbour, those on board could perceive them marching down the heights, which it is said were black for several miles with their numbers. The native settlers fled to the bush, and all the moveable property of value was conveyed on board the brig. The houses at Natal were not destroyed by the Zoolas, as they were deterred from approaching the shore by a shot occasionally discharged from the vessel.

Thus fell the gallant Uys, whose reasons for abandoning the country of his fathers and his birth, has already been alluded to at page 91, Part I.

The Government, assuming to have warned the emancipated slaves from following the fortunes of their masters, and affecting to believe the former had been gulled into the idea that, as apprentices, they were bound to remove with their employers, issued the following advertisement, which is the *first* public

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recognition by government of the fact of the secession of its subjects from legitimate authority:—

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas it has been reported to Government that, notwithstanding all the endeavours which have been resorted to, to make the apprenticed laborers understand that they are not bound to follow their employers over the land boundaries of the colony, many of them have done so whether by force or persuasion; His Excellency the Governor hereby calls on all Civil Commissioners, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Field-cornets, or other officers of Government—and more especially on all Special Justices—to use their utmost endeavors, and by every means in their power, to prevent those laborers being induced, either by the promises or threats of their employers, to accompany them out of the colony, and to explain to them, that by remaining therein they will be entitled to and receive the protection of Government as free people at the expiration of their apprenticeship.

Colonial Office, Cape Town, 15th March, 1838.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

The Colonial Government seems now to have somewhat aroused from its previous lethargy. Half slumbering, it started, rubbed its eyes, stretched itself, and muttered the following words in the shape of an advertisement, which it appears might as well have been addressed to the winds or waves for any effect that it had:—

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

The Civil Commissioners of Districts in both divisions of this colony, are hereby required to ascertain by every means in their power, and without delay, the number of Persons within their Districts, together with the names of heads of families, who have by their recent proceedings given reasonable cause for the supposition that they intend to emigrate beyond the Land Boundaries of the Colony, with or without their families and live stock. The Civil Commissioners of the Western Division will transmit their reports by every opportunity, in *duplicate*, one to the Acting Secretary to Government for the Eastern Division, at Graham's Town, for His Excellency the Governor's immediate information,—and one to this office. Those of the Eastern Division will be pleased to make their reports direct to the Acting Secretary.

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His Excellency earnestly exhorts the Civil Commissioners and all Public Functionaries throughout the colony, as well as all Ministers of Religion, and other persons of sound views, who cannot but foresee the inevitable result of the prevailing mania of emigration, to endeavor by every means in their power, to dissuade intending emigrants from the prosecution of plans which cannot fail, sooner or later, to involve themselves, and their families, who are prepared to accompany them, in certain and irretrievable ruin.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 26th April, 1838.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,

Secretary to Government.

Hitherto so sluggard, the Government followed up the forgoing notices by an *invitation* to their runaway subjects to return to the colony, praised their well-approved loyalty, made a *very vague* pledge to redress all wrongs in answer to their *explicit* enumeration of what those wrongs specifically were, promised to remit all pains and penalties they had incurred by passing over the boundary, (pains and penalties of the nature of which they were totally ignorant, and to which they could not be liable, having been told by Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom, *still in office,* that there was no law to prevent them) provided they retraced their steps BEFORE THE FIRST OF JANUARY, 1839. *For the first time* too they were warned they were not absolved from their allegiance by their removal, although they had claimed independence ever since the departure of Retief. How far the Government waited for the expiration of the period of this invitation and its effect, will hereafter be seen :—

Graham's Town, May 21st, 1838.

To the Farmers who have Emigrated beyond the Land Boundary of the Colony.

It having been represented to His Excellency the Governor that great misfortunes have befallen many of Her Majesty's subjects who have emigrated beyond the Land Boundaries of the colony into the interior of Africa; that many of them are consequently reduced to great distress; and *that a great proportion of them are desirous of returning within* the limits of Her Majesty's South

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African dominions, but have hitherto been deterred by an apprehension that the *Laws which are in existence forbidding* the crossing of the Land Boundary of the colony into the interior without permission regularly obtained will be put in force against them :

And it has more than once appeared to him that many of Her Majesty's said subjects have been induced so to emigrate under mistaken and erroneous impressions, and have erred more from ignorance and unfounded fears than from any intention to offend against the Laws :—

His Excellency is anxious to act upon the principles of mercy and benevolence, which constitute the most valuable attributes of the Crown, and to preserve from further misfortune and total destruction so many of her Majesty's subjects *who were so long conspicuous for loyalty*, good order, and submission to the laws, but who may have been seduced by their own want of consideration, or the advice and example of others :

His Excellency hereby assures them, that it shall be fully and freely allowed to all the said Emigrants, or all such proportions thereof, as shall be desirous of returning to the Colony, to do so; and to resume their Domiciles and Avocations, as also their Rights as British subjects without hindrance or molestation in consequence of the said emigration. And he also promises *to remit all pains and penalties* which may have been incurred by them by the transgressions of said Laws, against the crossing of the said Land Boundaries of the Colony into the interior: provided, nevertheless, such emigrants *do so return previous to the First day of January*, 1839.

And his Excellency hereby engages, that if any of the said emigrants so returning have been in any way *wronged* within the jurisdiction of her said Majesty's authority, or have any *grievances* to complain of against Her Hajesty's subjects, the public Functionaries, or otherwise, that the most full and ample investigation shall, upon proper representation, be instituted ; and either such redress afforded as it is in His Excellency's power to afford, or such representations made to Her Majesty's Government as the respective cases shall in justice demand.

But His Excellency also warns all those who have already emigrated, or may still be disposed to emigrate, as a duty he owes to his sovereign, and to them as her Majesty's subjects, that their emigration into the interior *cannot absolve them from their allegiance as British subjects*, and their responsibility as such to the Laws in force in the colony, and the courts administering the same.

His Excellency moreover assures them, that whenever the preservation of the peace, and prosperity of the colony and of the bordering tribes shall appear to Him to require that Military Posses-

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sion be taken of the Sea Port called Natal, he will be prepared and is determined to do so, in Her Majesty's name.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

H. HUDSON,

Acting Secretary to Government.

The state of affairs within the colony at this period only strengthened the representations of the emigrant farmers as to the real causes of their departure. Kafir depredations on the flocks of those who remained were increasing and incessant, the lives of British traders among the Kafirs were sacrificed with impunity, *and without being avenged*, and the Kafir Chiefs planned, along with a part of the Hottentot Troops on the frontier, an invasion of the colony, which fortunately was discovered in time for its prevention, but not without the loss of the valuable life of a young officer (Ensign Crow), who was deliberately shot by the mutineers of the Cape corps.

In the face of the report, both by Government and the press, of the distress of Natal, the mania of emigration not only remained unabated, but was increased by the state of the frontier, and men of a superior stamp, both for piety, intelligence, and wealth, now joined the ranks of their expatriated countrymen. As a proof of the rapidity with which the abandoning process was going on, we have the following account in June of this year, from the pen of a credible eye witness :—

"On my journey I fell in with 124 wagons, which were going beyond the boundary. On Monday, the 11th June, several wagons crossed the boundary at the Orange River. Amongst the party was Stephanus Lombard, who lived formerly on the Kaga River. This party had with them above 6,000 sheep and goats, and a vast number of cattle. The party from Uitenhage district arrived on Saturday, the 2d June. It consisted of 29 wagons. Among the party were C. van Staaden, late Heemraad, and Gert Van Rooyen. On Saturday evening I counted the wagons at Klein Buffels Vley, and found them amount to 72. Tents were pitched on the Sabbath. The party from Uitenhage assembled about 10 o'clock for Divine Service. About 150 souls, young and old, were present,—all clean, and neatly dressed. A sermon was delivered from Isaiah 53d chap.; 3d verse. A prayer before and after service was read. The 84th Psalm, 1st part, and the 55th Hymn, were also sung. At

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the conclusion the 7th Hymn was sung. It was very suitable to their situation, the first verse being—

> "Op bergen, en in dalen, en overal is God;
> War wy ook immer dwalen of zitten daar is God;
> Waar myn gedachten zweven of stygen daar is God;
> Omlang en hoog verheeven,—ja, overal is God!"

Which may be thus paraphrased:—

> "On lofty mount and lowly dell—and everywhere is God;
> Where'er my eye may stray or dwell—there everywhere is God;
> My thoughts if fix'd or wand'ring round—will ever meet their God;
> Whether to skies, or deeps profound—yes, everywhere is God!"

The colonists of the northern frontier, feeling deeply the distressed state of their unhappy countrymen over the border, dispatched immediate relief for the more necessitous, and both Mr. Boshoff and Mr. Joubert became their almoners on the occasion. Mr. Boshoff gives the following acccount of the situation and sentiments of the emigrants:—

On the 22d of May last the Caravan to which I belong, arrived at the first camp of the emigrants, situated at the distance of about five hours on horseback from the Tugala River, being a distance of 99 hours with a horse-wagon. A few days after our arrival we had an opportunity of also visiting the next encampment, which is about 1½ hour on horseback from the first. We have ascertained that the emigrants, since the horrible murder in February, committed by the *Zoolas*, were obliged to remain in their wagons and tents very close to each other, partly to prepare themselves for a "commando" against the blood-thirsty tyrant Dingaan, who still had upwards of 20,000 head of cattle in his possession, which he captured at the time he committed the cool-blooded murder, besides a large number of sheep, which caused the entire ruination of so many widows and orphans, who fled on this occasion, saving no more than their lives, and who were thereby reduced to a state of incomparable poverty. They have since been fed by the benevolent who still had something left, or by those who did not share in their fate. Almost all the oxen have been taken from them, leaving thereby, of course, many a poor widow in a state of destitution, not knowing how to rejoin them, and to escape the vengeance of their fearful enemy. Their poverty was increased, as they were not able to cultivate their ground or to sow such seed as might assist them in the hour of need, and their supply of maize, flour, Kafir corn and rice, decreasing daily through consumption, and very soon even these provisions were totally gone. *Among these were also sufferers by the* LAST KAFIR INVASION.

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Gentlemen, fancy therefore to your imagination how many oppressed hearts were gratified when Mr. Joubert handed over to Mr. Maritz the provisions received from Colesberg to distribute the same among those who were most in want of them—as also when we understood that a general commiseration, with the exception of a few, existed all over the colony, for the undeserved sorrows and oppressions which they had to suffer. Tears of gratitude were seen upon every cheek, while others, weeping and sighing, said, "*Let our faith be on the Lord, for he will deliver us!*" I could see that they did not rejoice so much for the means so kindly forwarded to them, as on hearing that almost the whole Colony commiserated their fate, as they thought that their remembrance was entirely effaced from the memory of others.

On our arrival, we understood that the Emigrants who were located there, expected, according to promise, not less than 400 or 500 men for their assistance, by the aid of which they would be able, notwithstanding the bad condition of their horses, to meet their enemy and to recapture the cattle so treacherously taken from them, —but finding that our company consisted of no more than 64 persons, and *of which the majority were still residents of the Colony, we were aware that none of us could afford them any other relief, but only in case they intended to return to the Colony.* They were therefore obliged, as their horses suffered dreadfully by the commando of Uys, and several other excursions, and were consequently very tired,—as also driving the cattle together, that they were entirely unfit to be used for a second commando, to drop their plans until the winter season expired, or till the enemy would farther approach them. By this resolution they were compelled to remain in separate encampments, and to do the best they could to procure for themselves, with danger of life, such necessaries as were indispensable to their support.

On our journey to the spot we met about 160 men with their families and cattle, who were retiring back, as they could not agree, on account of their being too near each other with their cattle, among whom were the Commandant Potgieter, to whose bad, treacherous, and cowardly conduct the Farmers attribute their defeat and the death of Uys. *We thought from this example that we would find a great many, if not all, of the farmers of the same intention, to return to the colony. We, however, found that very few of them had that intention.* The number of persons who remained amounted to about 600 men and 3,000 women and children, with about 1,000 wagons. Upon a further investigation *we found that those who were the most in distress*, viz. the widows and orphans, *had the least inclination to return to the Colony*. They say, that their means of existence and their oxen have been entirely taken away from them, and in order to get their wagons back to the Colo-

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ny not less than 500 oxen and 100 men would be requisite, But now, even supposing they were to return to the Colony, what then? Live on alms? Or to be apprenticed with their children? No! death is more preferable!—and particularly now, as there is still some hope that another commando under a better management, and by the grace of God, will meet with a better success, and that they may then perhaps re-capture their cattle, and live in peace on that land so dearly paid for with the blood of the men, without finding themselves obliged to beg for their support.

The following is one of the acknowledgments for the aid so generously sent from the Colony:—

Boschjesman's River, 8th June, 1838.

My dear Sir,—With gratitude I acknowledge the receipt of the gift of a sum of three hundred and thirty Rix Dollars, together with a small quantity of ammunition, sent to us by our brethren and sisters of the district of Colesberg, for the relief of the poor—taking the liberty at the same time to request of you to assure each of them that however small this gift may seem to others, it has, however, been received here with the greatest gratitude by those who are reduced from affluence to poverty, and particularly by me, while I feel myself thereby assisted in giving aid in their melancholy situation.

I hope that the Lord will doubly reward those who have opened their kind hearts and hands for the widows and orphans.

However trifling, I say, this small gift may seem in the eyes of others, I am fully convinced that if each district of the Colony contibuted so much, the poor as well as the widows and fatherless would be saved from starvation. Thanks therefore to you, respected brothers and sisters of Colesberg, for your commiseration of the deplorable fate of your late fellow-citizens, who will continue. with the assistance of providence, to persevere even in this their trouble, and, by God's help, to live in peace, if they might gain their object, and to inhabit a land *incomparable for fertility, and which is large enough for them and for the whole of the offspring of the entire South African population.*

May God grant their hearts may be more and more opened for benevolence towards the poor, and that their minds may be enlightened to advise their fellow-countrymen that which can really tend for our and their future prosperity.

Be assured that my wishes for your welfare, and for the welfare of my fellow-countrymen, are as warm and as well meant as ever a wish could be,—and receive, I pray you, thanks for your kind assistance rendered us particularly from myself,

Who has the honor to be,
Your humble Servant and sincere Friend,
(Signed) G. N. MARITZ.

Mr. Gideon Joubert.

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The editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*—always the herald of ill when the affairs of the emigrants were concerned, always pretending to be better avised than his co-temporaries, and nevertheless always deluded and put at fault by his "respectable correspondent," or "gentleman well known to us," or some other equally infallible informant—once more portended evil. On the 14th July he declared "the emigrants are in a bad way, without any fixed government or rules;" that "one Landman is now *Generalissimo*, and has convinced the emigrants of the folly of sending another commando against Dingaan before the spring." "A great many women are disposed to return." Every day decreases the strength of the camp. A camp which, in the same breath, he announced as containing 5,100 souls with 640 white men—indomitable Boers with their long guns—*capable of bearing arms*, against the Zoolah with his slender assagai and ox-hide targe, and 800 saddle horses, 300 of which were "fit for service." The value of the predictions of such a prophet may be seen by the foregoing statements of Mr. Boshoff, and became still more apparent by the defeat of Dingaan.

In August of this year the ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY, a body of respectable and benevolent individuals, but lamentably ignorant of Colonial affairs, grossly imposed upon by designing men—a society called into existence, as itself stated, "by the revolting usages of the colonists from Great Britain;" among which usages is recorded as a "FACT incredible at first sight" (doubtless so) "but, unhappily for human nature, too well attested to allow that charitable doubt with which all Christian men must receive them"—"*that it is notorious that natives of Van Dieman's Land have been shot like carrion, to be used as food for*" (for what?) "THE HORSES OF THE SETTLERS!"—(*Vide Atlas Newspaper*, *April*, 1840, *p.* 233)—put forth its views of the Natal question and gravely recommended the appointment of Governor Stockenstrom to treat with the emigrant farmers to return to the Colony—"a recommendation," observed by a learned gentleman at the Cape, "as likely to

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be attended with somewhat similar effects to that of placing a lighted Havannah into a barrel of Dartford gunpowder.

The representations made by this society, which, if containing some truths, are so filled with gross exaggerations as to be unworthy of the smallest attention; and indeed the authorities of Downing-street seem to have been aware of the fact, never having acted upon their information or followed our their views. The documents here refered to consist of a Memorial to Lord Glenelg, bearing date 7th August, 1838, and a letter to Lord John Russel from the joint secretaries of the Aborigines' Protection Society, which, too long for this publication, may be seen in the *African Colonizer*, at p. 74.

The distress occasioned by the late occurrences at Natal naturally bespoke the charitable assistance of the Dutch and other inhabitants of the Colony. A subscription was set on foot to alleviate their misery, which was well supported, and a vessel, the *Mary*, dispatched with every necessary comfort and supply, and the following address, transmitted on the very day of the Aborigines' Committee's letter just alluded to, along with fifty copies of the Governor's invitation of the 21st of May:—

TO THE EMIGRATED COLONISTS.

Cape Town, 7th August, 1838.

Much esteemed Countrymen,—Deeply affected by the calamities in which you are all plunged by the treacherous attack of the sanguinary Tyrant, and especially by the horrid massacre of the brave Retief and his followers, the whole colony has lamented the sad and fatal consequences of your emigration, and the brutal cruelties inflicted on your dear relatives, have created the most acute sensation in the hearts of your friends, and horror was depicted on every countenance on the intelligence of such detested atrocities. This feeling did not only vent itself in loud exclamations, but a generous sympathy was manifested everywhere for your deplorable condition, —every one vied to alleviate your sufferings, and most nobly tendered the means for your relief. This feeling, fostered by the public newspapers, did not characterize and confine itself to idle talk, but proved its sincerity in creating the necessary funds to meet your wants. Almost every district displayed these acts of benevo-

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lence, and confided the transmission of the necessaries to a Committee appointed for that special purpose. This Committee, in furtherance of so noble an object, has shipped the articles, as per accompanying list, on board the "Mary," bound to Port Natal, and kindly requested Messrs. J. Muller and A. Biggar to cause the same to be forwarded to you; you therefore on the spot, and acquainted with the particular wants of every individual, will best be able to satisfy the wishes of your friends, by distributing the articles to the most needy, and transmit an accurate account to us for the satisfaction of those friends; and should the tears of only a few among you be wiped off by these trifling presents, it will afford the greatest satisfaction to your sympathizing friends. This participation in your fate must clearly convince you all, that the hearts of your fellow colonists constantly beat for your welfare, and that the miseries in which you have plunged yourself by your hazardous enterprize have not diminished your claims to their charity.

But, esteemed countrymen, we will not conceal from you, that your dangerous enterprise has filled the hearts of your friends with the greatest anxiety. Surrounded by savages—far removed from all civilization—not able to afford education to your dear offspring. to which they are justly entitled—aware that bloody scenes will insensibly harden them against the impressions of milder virtues—roaming about in an unknown country, at the mercy of your bloodthirsty enemies—bereft of the most urgent necessaries of life, and the means to render proper medical aid to your sick—exposed to the inclemencies of a severe winter—anxious as to the future—in one word, doomed, perhaps, by one combination against you, to general destruction.

These are only a few of the sensations which cruelly rent the bosoms of your friends; *while your enemies already actually rejoiced in anticipating the failure of your plans*, and with infernal joy beheld you weltering in your blood; nay, even the sham friends who incited you to this hazardous enterprise, and have enriched themselves with your possessions, have viewed your sufferings, without extending a helping hand to your succour.

Believe, therefore, dear Friends, that this picture is not drawn, in order again to rip open your recently healed wounds, and cause the same to bleed anew, but only to make you ttentive to your dangerous condition. Spied in your camp by thousands. who lay in wait to destroy you, and in the colony, if you persevere in your plan, by dangerous enemies bent upon your general destruction;—we, therefore, who have no other object in view but your welfare, and have sincerely sympathized in your sufferings, take the liberty to remind you of the paternal, and as we trust, well-meaning letter of His Excellency the Governor, of which we have caused, at our own expence, *one hundred and fifty copies* to be printed and transmitted to you, kindly requesting to take the same into serious consideration.

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Animated with friendly feelings, His Excellency has neither wished to cast you out, nor to listen to *infernal advice*, but stretches out his friendly hand to alleviate your grief. Should there be difficulties which you cannot now get rid of, state them humbly to His Excellency, and do not allow yourselves to be imposed upon by the evil disposed to reject the well-meaning advice; at all events, whatever your future resolves may be, let them be such, that the reproaches of your dear offspring may never pierce your hearts, or that none of you may exclaim in bitter anguish, "I have, through foolish obstinacy, plunged my offspring in the greatest misery, from which no human power can save them." We have deemed it expedient to remind you thereof, and to impress upon you, that though your friends, by transmitting you the articles above-mentioned, have signified their sympathy, you can easily conceive that such transmissions for your support cannot continue.

Much esteemed countrymen, let us, therefore, by alleviating each other's sufferings, and by complying with the generous object of true philanthropy, likewise remember, that all of us, as members of society, are obliged to alleviate the general sufferings; there are also *poor* in this Colony, who, by your emigration with your cattle, and the subsequent scarcity and high price, have also been exposed to want. Reflect, on that account, at the consequences of your emigration, and let us all join in future, to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, and promote the happiness of our fellow creatures.

Trusting you will not censure our advice,

We have the honor to be, &c:,

Your affectionate friends,

By Order of the Committee,

J. H. Wicht, Secretary.

To return again to Natal:

On the 13th of August Dingaan made another furious attack on the emigrants' camp under Potgieter, at the Bushman's River, where only about 150 men were encamped. The farmers met the Zoola army in front of their enclosed camp and drove them back with loss. They then sent only 15 men in pursuit, but upon these they turned round, drove them back, and made another still more violent rush upon the camp, so that the men were on the point of retreating behind the first line of wagons, but their Commandant Potgieter cheered them on and said, "Don't retreat one step—let us keep our ground outside the camp, lest they take courage." They were then again repulsed with loss, notwithstanding their numbers appeared to be most overpowering; for to overcome the Boers they had apparently brought out every man they could spare, as a great many young lads were seen arrayed at a distance of about 400 yards behind the others—some of them from 10 to 14 and 15 years old;

very old men were also found amongst the killed. On the part of the farmers, only one man named Vlotman, who was out with the cattle unarmed, was killed. Maritz, who was encamped at the "Klein Tugala," on being apprised of this affair, sent 60 men to the assistance of their comrades, but the Zoolas had retreated so far that they could not be overtaken, having only killed many cattle and sheep which were within their reach on their retreat.

On this occasion the Zoolas had 100 men armed *with guns*, and many on horseback.

It is also stated, that at this time above 300 Dutch farmers had taken up their abode at Port Natal itself, where they were busied in all the operations of agriculture, and Mr. Ogle, an English settler at that place, stated, "*they were very desirous the Government should establish that Port as a British Colony*;" to which, unhappily, a deaf ear was turned.

In the month of April, of this year, Mr. J. Boshoff, a gentleman already frequently mentioned—a Government servant—a very intelligent person—and possessing great influence with his countrymen, the Dutch Boers, visited the Emigrants at Natal, for which step, he was injudiciously removed from office by Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, and thus another individual inimical to British rule was added to the mass beyond the boundary. His object in resorting to that place, was to satisfy himself of the prudence of several of his relatives and friends emigrating thither; who, placing great reliance on his judgment, requested him to ascertain the condition of the emigrants previous to their removal. On his return, he published an interesting narrative of the events which had occurred there, to which I have already adverted, and on the 1st of September he gave, through the medium of the press, the following account of the country and situation of the farmers:—

Our party left the Nieuw Hantam on the 30th April last, and on reaching the Orange River found it greatly swollen by rains in the interior. The fords were utterly impracticable for wheel carriages, except by floating them across; and by this process, which occupied one whole day, we at length reached the opposite shore. On

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the 31st April we stopped at the first Griqua or Bastard farm-house, the residence of a person named William Neilsen. This man is superior to the generality of these people. His residence is about an hour and a half with a horse-wagon from the Orange River. He has much land under tillage, and we are informed, that he is the only individual among Kok's people* who cultivate land to such an extent, as not only to supply himself, but to have a surplus for sale to the colonial farmers. He has built a neat little cottage expressly for the accommodation of travellers and strangers; and a day seldom passes without visiters, either traders or boers, with both of whom he appears to be on the best and most friendly terms, although one would suppose that if any of the Griqua Bastards had cause to complain of annoyance by trek-boers old Neilsen must be the greatest sufferer. The main road runs across his place, and every day such visiters pass his door either backward or forward. Here we met with the two Italians and a woman I mentioned in my former communication, returning from the camp of the emigrants, having travelled the whole distance on horseback. These persons gave us such an account of the danger we were likely to encounter before we could possibly reach the farmers, whose situation was also described as so imminently perilious, that we began to entertain apprehensions that, even should we be so fortunate as to be able to make our way through the numerous and strong posts of the enemy, yet there was very little probability of our being in time to render any effectual assistance to our unfortunate brethren. But the greater the danger was described, the more determined were my brave companions, Joubert and his little party, to proceeed.

The journey from thence to Moroko's station, a distance of 25 hours from the Orange River, was travelled so slowly that we did not reach it until the 11th May. A body of 200 men was expected here on the 12th from the Riet and Modder Rivers on their way to join the emigrants; but instead of that number only two arrived. From Neilsen's place to the sources of the Modder River, we saw but three places which exhibited any traces of occupation. On one spot there was a small house half finished, and on the other two structures something resembling the habitations of men one grade in civilization above the savage tribes, and even these were in a dilapidated state. This unoccupied country is about 100 miles in breadth, and it abounds in pasturage and water for millions of sheep and thousands of large cattle. It is claimed by Kok's Griquas, and it is said that his right thereto was fully acknowledged by the Lieut. Governor on the occasion of his meeting their chiefs and principal men on his visit made some short time ago to the frontier. They were then told that if they could agree with the farmers they *might*

*The Griquas or Bastard Race.

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allow them the use of these lands upon payment of rent; and as these people do not require one *fiftieth* part of the rich pasturage abounding in that extensive waste, several of them have rented out large tracts of land to colonial farmers for 6, 8, or 10 years, and longer.

We visited several of the farmers who are settled there, and they seemed quite happy. They appear to know little, and indeed not to care much, about what is going on in the colony. They have few servants; but these give them little trouble by bad conduct, as where they find it necessary they punish offences, *without any fear of vexatious law-suits in consequence. The servant aware of this, gives very little trouble;* he respects his master's authority, and in general, conducts himself in a very exemplary manner. Few of these farmers sow corn or cultivate gardens, for want of running water or strong fountains for irrigation. They obtain wheat, Indian and Kafir corn, from the Griqua Bastards occupying the tract of country called "Newland," and also from Maroko's people, for money, or in exchange for cattle and sheep. They do not trouble themselves about politics; and as they can readily sell or exchange their slaughter oxen at the rate of Rds. 50 per head, cows at Rds. 20, and wether sheep at Rds. 4 or 4½, without the trouble of going any distance to market to dispose of them, and as the traders not only purchase their cattle, but supply them at their own doors with everything they require, they seem to be content. *There are no complaints of cattle stealing,* instances of which are very rare *Vagrants are very few,* indeed, except a small party now and then of wandering Bushmen and Coranas may be considered as such. Independently of these advantages they enjoy a privilege highly valued by the grazier, viz., that of changing the pasturage frequently, which, without any expense worth mentioning, tends to cause an increase of their stock to an extent of 20 per cent. beyond that within the colony. *I believe these persons still pay their taxes, at least many of them repair to Colesberg for that purpose, and also to get their children baptized, and hence they consider themselves as still within the jurisdiction of the colonial government.* During the whole of our journey from the colony to Natal we only met with two parties of Bushmen. On our way thither we fell in with a small company of six, and on our return with another consisting of eleven persons, and we heard there were but very few of those people in that part of the country.

Throughout that district, and for a distance of fifty miles beyond Moroko's territory, there is abundance of game. The pasturage from Moroko's country to the Sand River, a distance of 90 miles, or 18 hours, is a mixture of sour and sweet grasses. With the exception of a few fountains, the Sand River was the first running stream we found after crossing the Riet River, and both of these

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are weak and inconsiderable. Still there is no scarcity of water, as for the whole of that distance, there are along the road a number of large pools of good fresh water, so that the traveller is sure to find a plentiful supply of water every day, however short the stage he may make.

From the Sand River to the top of Draakberg, also about 90 miles, the country presents an irregular surface, and the pasturage is sour. On the Draakberg we crossed several running streams; the largest is the Eiland's River, and which is much such a stream as the Hex River. All the way from the New Hantam to the Draakberg, the country is nearly destitute of wood, and the traveller is compelled to collect cow dung for the purposes of fuel. From the New Hantam to the Riet River our course was north east, thence to Moroko's due east, thence to the Vet River, a distance of 35 miles, again north east, thence to the Eiland's River, again east, and from the Eiland's River down the Draakberg to the emigrant's camp, south east.

On the 19th May we descended the Draakberg with six wagons and a cart, and reached its base in an hour and a half. Some parts of the descent were so steep that we were compelled to chain two wheels; but upon the whole the road is not very difficult. From the foot of the mountain to Port Natal, the distance is computed at 42 hours with horse wagons (210 miles). In the winter the cold is as severe on these mountains as in the Sneeuberg; but on descending into the level of the country it is as temperate as in the Camdebo; and as you approach Port Natal it becomes still warmer. On the 4th of June (nearly the middle of winter in this latitude,) we saw in the garden of a native, under the Stinkhoutberg, a distance of between 50 and 60 miles from the coast, Indian corn of luxuriant growth, in full blossom, together with tobacco-plants, and pumpkins, and calabashes, all uninjured by frost. At Natal we partook of two large dishes of Indian corn in a green and unripe state.

On the whole the climate is healthy and so mild that two crops of almost every kind of grain may be reaped in the year: The soil is a dark mould, deep, loose, and very fertile. Indian corn has been often found in the fields of the natives of such vigorous growth, that a man on horseback standing in his stirrups, could not reach the top of the plant. This grain, as also Kafir corn, pumkins, and tobacco, are grown without irrigation. It is said that from September or October to March, and sometimes to April, rains are so frequent that the highest hills may be successfully cultivated. Independent of this, however, there is such abundance of water, both by rivers and springs, that by means of irrigation, a hundred times more produce might be raised within the comparatively small tract of country over which I travelled from the Draakberg to Natal

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than in the whole of the eastern province. But as irrigation does not appear necessary, with very few exceptions, it appears certain, that were there sufficient population, the whole country might be converted into corn fields and plantations.

We crossed, in our progress, several beautiful rivers, the largest of which are the Tugala and Umgani. The first resembles the Breede river, near Swellendam, or even lower down, and the second is not much inferior in magnitude. In rainy seasons I have no doubt bnt they are navigable for large boats for a considerable distance. The other rivers are, the Little Tugala, the Bushman, the Umbooti, the Umzalak, the Umlas, and several other streams, resembling in size and volume of water, the Berg river, the Hex, or the Zonderend, and some rather smaller. All these streams have their sources in the Draakberg, at a distance of from 15 to 30 miles higher than where the road crosses the range. In many places they are capable of being led out without any expense or labor than merely making a channel to conduct the water.

From the character of the soil and climate, I have no doubt but that every kind of fruit tree which grows in the colony will flourish there. I have seen bananas, dates, a species of medlar, and some others growing wild, as also a sort of cane, and Spanish reed, which are also indigenous.

Timber for building purposes, wagon-making, &c., is everywhere to be had. The country is hilly, like that in the neighborhood of Swellendam or George; but it is quite open, the wood only growing along the margin of the rivers, and in the kloofs: Near Port Natal, for 15 miles from the shore, it has, however, the appearance of a continued forest.

Coal is found at the Sand River, between the great and little Tugala Rivers, and at the Blue Krans River. We dug up some near the road between the Tugalas, of which I brought home with me a small quantity. This was taken from near the surface, and proved, on trial, to be coal of second or third rate quality. We also found a small piece of coal on the shore, about a mile east of the entrance of the Bay of Natal; but this might have been washed on shore from some vessel. However, there can be no doubt but that the country in the vicinity of Natal produces abundance of this valuable mineral.

The pasturage is extremely rich and very healthy for large cattle and sheep. The whole face of the country is thickly clothed by a great variety of grasses, growing from one to *eight* feet high. It sometimes for many miles in extent has more the resemblance of corn fields than grazing ground.

Elephants, elands, buffaloes, and wild boars, are found in this part of the country; but animals of prey are very rare. After we descended the Draakberg, we never saw so much as the footmarks of

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a jackall, wolf, lion, or other noxious or ferocious animal. Sheep are permitted to graze at a great distance from the camp day and night, and are uninjured.

The cattle, sheep, and horses, excepting such as have been much used, or kept close to the camp, look very healthy and are in excellent condition. The farmers state that they have had no diseases amongst either cattle or sheep all the time they have been there. The horse-sickness, however, similar to that known in the colony, is also prevalent there.

The roads are smooth and good, although the country is not level. Stones are rarely met with, except in the beds of rivers.

Since the death of Retief, and subsequently of Uys, the form of Government amongst the emigrants has undergone some changes, and they have had several meetings to discuss, alter, and mature the system. These discussions have arisen out of the differences which existed between the respective adherents of Uys and Maritz. The former presented at last a memorial to the general council, stating that for various reasons they could not submit to him as their magistrate, and praying that another individual might be appointed to preside over them. The council acceded to this, and accordingly appointed in his room a person named Badenhorst. The council consists of 24 members, who are elected by the people. It holds supreme authority, makes laws and regulations, appoints to all offices of trust and power, such as field-commandants, field-cornets, and wardmasters, and hears and determines upon all matters of importance.

Mr. Maritz holds, in conjunction with the office of magistrate, the appointment of chief commissioner, or president, and as such has the charge of all public monies, regulates the receipts and expenditure, and in other respects has the same authority, and discharges similar duties as the civil commissioners within the colony. The magistrates alone have jurisdiction in petty, civil, and criminal cases; but where the interest at stake amounts (I believe) in civil cases to the value of £7 10s.; and in criminal to a fine of £5, or imprisonment for one month, he is assisted by six heemraden. From these decisions there is no appeal. This court has, however, jurisdiction, with appeal, in cases of higher value and importance. In criminal cases, however, where the offender is liable to the punishment of transportation, or whipping, and hard labor for more (I think) than six mouths, as also to the punishment of death,—for the trial of such offences a court is held, at which the magistrate within whose jurisdiction the crime is committed presides as judge, and a jury of 12 men, called "gezworenen," is impannelled to hear and decide on the evidence given. No death warrant can be executed until it has received the *fiat* of the general council, or "volksraad," which also decides all cases in appeal, and exercises the

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power to remit fines and punishments. This council holds monthly sessions, and oftener when necessary, when one of its members sits as president.

The laws of Holland, as they are recognized in this colony, are followed by them, except in matters of a purely local nature, when the general council promulgates such regulations as may be necessary, or gives instructions to the respective officers according to circumstances. The members of council, and also their present magistrates, have been elected for one year only; and they deem this period, and the laws and regulations now in force, as sufficient to the exigency of their present circumstances; but they contemplate making many changes when they shall be peaceably settled. They are, however, greatly in want of an efficient head—of one properly qualified in every respect to direct and guide them, and who, unconnected with any party, may acquire the confidence of all. They feel this want very much, and it is generally thought that were such a person raised up, he would soon remove all party feeling, suspicion, and jealousy from amongst them, as well as prevent ambitious men from creating dissensions, which, though frequently of a trifling nature, have too often caused much annoyance, and brought them into great difficulties. Such disputes might have been the cause of great misfortunes had it not been for the forbearance which has been very generally manifested, by which party spirit has been prevented from degenerating into personal hatred between themselves. They have exerted themselves on all sides to remove the causes of disagreement, as soon as known, and to reconcile the disputants if possible. On the whole I found the people peaceably disposed, well-behaved and orderly. During our stay among them we did not hear of a single instance of quarrelling or fighting between either man or woman, although it was feared by some, that as wine and spirits had been obtained from Port Natal, such disorders would take place. Nor did I meet with an individual intoxicated, although while I was there brandy was for a few days retailed in the camp, and notwithstanding I saw some there who when in the colony were addicted to liquor, and were there very disorderly when under its influence. The emigrants in general are still decently, though some rather poorly clothed. Not a child did I see in rags, or naked; but there are many among them, chiefly widows, who have been ruined by Dingaan, who subsist on the charity of others.

Divine service is publicly performed thrice on every Sunday, and also on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. The officiating minister in one camp is Mr. Smit, formerly a missionary. He was elected to the sacred office he now fills during the time of the late P. Retief, and he still acts as the pastor of a considerable number of the emigrants, and is of great use to them. During the week days he catechises the youth, while Mrs. Smit instructs the younger

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children. Every day Mr. Smit is actively engaged in the duties of his calling, and he is highly esteemed by his congregation. In the other camps Messrs. Maritz, Charel Cilliers, and some others perform divine service. Every morning and evening the sound of family devotion is heard in the tents in all directions. Prayer meetings are also frequent.

There are many who will not acknowledge Mr. Smit as their pastor, he not having been ordained. Such persons marry their sons or daughters by means of a civil contract made before the magistrates. Their children they leave unbaptised, waiting in the hope that their repeated applications for a minister will be attended to; if not by their own countrymen, at least by some foreigner of the same religious persuasion.

They have established several schools, but the parents complain that the want of accommodation prevents the teachers from receiving so many pupils as they might otherwise instruct. Others are compelled, in consequence of the paucity of servants, to take care of their parents' cattle; and of course, the education of these is much neglected. In some instances, parents instruct their own children.

There are not a few slave apprentices with the emigrants; *but it has been determined by council that these shall be set at liberty on the* 1*st December*, the same as in the colony. The emigrants do not seem to have the slightest idea of entering into any slave trade whatever, and are even offended at a question on the subject being put to them. They say, "We are not averse to the emancipation of the slave,—*the colonists never introduced the slave trade, the European governments forced it upon us,—what we complain of is, that our slaves have been emancipated by England under a promise of full compensation, whereas, we have scarcely received one-third of their value.*"

They are most anxious to remain on friendly terms with the colony; but if you begin to propose to them their return, or argue as to the causes of their emigration, you soon find yourself in the back ground; you must submit to listen to *a long catalogue of grievances*, and which they state have driven them to take the step they have done; and they appear fully determined to run any risk, and to suffer any privation, rather than to submit again to the same annoyances.

The appearance of Mr. Boshoff's letters produced strong remonstrances, on the part of the local press, against the suspineness of the Government. It was justly observed:—

This emigration is one of the most extraordinary proceedings of the present day; but strange and extravagant as it is, it was *fore-*

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seen, and the government *distinctly warned* of it long before it took place. Ignorance, therefore, on the part of the authorities, cannot be pleaded, seeing that this caution stands recorded in a public despatch from the Governor of the colony to the Colonial Minister. *And what, we may ask, would have been the consequence, had that migration not have taken place? Why, in all probability, a similar scene would have been presented here to that which has been witnessed in the Canadas.* The whole country might, and it is very probable would, have been torn to pieces by intestine commotions; and the British Government, instead of having merely to defend the frontier against the incursions of the Kafirs, might have been necessitated to send hither an expensive armament to put down rebellion, as well as a costly commission to pacify opposing interests, and to bring the country again into a state of quietude. The outlet to the north and east has been a *safety-valve* to the colony, and there is every reason to believe has actually saved the Government a large expenditure of public money.

We have watched this emigration carefully from the first, and have been at some pains to bring under the notice of the public its whole course and progress. Whilst, however, we have viewed the measure, as one marked by extravagance, and as fraught with certain suffering and disaster to those engaged in it, we could not, in conscience, declare that the inhabitants, and more especially the frontier farmers, were without any just cause of complaint. Their grievances have been made known to the Government,—a deaf ear has been turned thereto; and the Colonial Minister—instead of adopting that line of policy which would have restored confidence, and have smoothed down that asperity of feeling, the natural consequence of again seeing the country laid desolate by any irruption of savages,—all the ordinary pursuits of industry suspended,—the husbandman called to quit his home, and to take the field against the common enemy, leaving his family, in numerous instances, dependent on charity for first necessaries,—has taken exactly that course which has tended most effectually to cause exasperation, and which has led so many hundreds of valuable hands to plunge, with the recklessness of despair, into the trackless wilderness, and to place themselves beyond the pale of civilization.

But all this, and a hundred other equally strong appeals and representations, the home Government disregarded, and we now have to reap the bitter fruits of its negligence and apathy.

Under the plea of putting a stop to the effusion of blood

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at Natal, the Goverment published a Proclamation on the 6th of September, prohibiting the issue of gunpowder from any of the colonial stores; but how little was government informed of the real state and resources of the Boers, and how worse than useless was such a prohibition, will appear, when it is stated that 500 bars of lead, and 200 casks of gunpowder, which had been shipped to that port, were sent back by the "Mary," coaster, "The stock there being so great that there was no chance of a sale!"

PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, C.B

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas by an Ordinance No. 7, 1834, intituled "An Ordinance for regulating the Trade in Gunpowder within this Colony," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor thereof, at all times when He shall see fit, by any Proclamation to be by him issued for that purpose, to prohibit the issue of Gunpowder from all or any of the private Gunpowder Magazines in the Colony: Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority in me vested, I do hereby prohibit the issue of Gunpowder from any and every private Gunpowder Magazine in this Colony, until further Proclamation shall by me be made in that behalf:

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN:

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, the 6th day of September, 1838.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,

Secretary to Government.

This Proclamation was followed up within four days by another:—

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PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, C.B.

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas it has become necessary, for a limited period, to prohibit the exportation of *all Goods and Articles whatsoever*, from any Port in this Colony to any Port or Place between the mouth of the Great Fish River and Delagoa Bay, both places inclusive; and to prevent the exportation of Gunpowder, Fire Arms and other munitions of War, from any one Port of this Colony, to any other Port of the said Colony: Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority in me vested, I do hereby proclaim, and make known, that, until further Proclamation shall by me, be made, the Collector, and all other Officers of Her Majesty's Customs, in this Colony, are hereby authorized and required not to permit or suffer the exportation or shipment of *any Goods or articles whatsoever*, to any Port or Place between the mouth of the Great Fish River and Delagoa Bay, both places inclusive; nor to clear outwards any Vessel for any Port or Place within the limits aforesaid, without leave and licence, from me, first had and obtained; nor to permit or suffer *any Gunpowder, Fire-arms, or other munitions of war*, to be exported coastwise, to any place within the Colony, without such leave and licence as aforesaid, (excepting the necessary stores for the *bona fide* use of such vessel, a list of which the Master is to deliver to the Collector at the time of clearance.)

And whereas the schooner or vessel called the *Mary*, is now lying in the harbour of Port Elizabeth on her voyage to Port Natal, having on board certain quantities of Gunpowder, Lead, Fire Arms, and other munitions of War, destined for Port Natal, the Sub-Collector at Port Elizabeth, and his Assistants, are hereby authorised and required to cause the said Gunpowder, Lead, Fire Arms, and other munitions of War, to be landed at Port Elizabeth, before the said vessel shall be suffered to proceed on her voyage.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand and Seal, at Cradock, the Tenth Day of September, 1838.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) H. HUDSON,
Secretary to Government.

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The receipt of this state paper in England produced the following remarks in the London TIMES Newspaper, of the 12th of January, 1839 :—

" Papers from the Cape of Good Hope have been received to the 18th of November. As on former occasions, they are mainly occupied with accounts of Kafir depredations and the situation of the emigrant boers at Port Natal. The conduct of the local Government in regard to these unfortunate parties appears to be unnecessarily harsh, for although it was known that they had suffered the greatest disasters from the sanguinary attacks of the Zoolas, and that besides they had lost a great part of their stores, whilst most of their cattle which had escaped capture had perished from disease, caused by want of food, yet notwithstanding a proclamation was issued by which the shipment or export of any goods or articles, of whatever nature, to Port Natal had been prohibited till further notice. This would, of course, put a stop to the continuance of those succours which were before afforded through the means of charitable subscriptions among the inhabitants of the Cape. The provisions, clothing, and other stores so sent had, it is known, proved a very seasonable, though partial, relief only, to the distressed emigrants, The object, although not expressly avowed, of the proclamation seems to have been the export of gunpowder, to prevent them from carrying on war against the Zoolas, by whom they had been so ferociously assailed. But, supposing that the measure was justifiable on that ground, that is no reason why the export of food, clothing, and agricultural utensils should be interfered with. It results from documents already published that the boers had *not* emigrated into the Zoola limits *without due leave* and agreement with Dingaan, the Chief of that Kafir tribe, for some time before the emigration was commenced, a deputation was sent to him to request his permission, which was freely granted, Whilst, however, upon *his own invitation*, the boers were amicably treating with him about the purchase of land, the terms of which were actually settled, and the land made over to them, they were set upon in the night, and men, women, and children of these unfortunate emigrants butchered with circumstances of the most appalling barbarity. *The emigration itself was suggested as a means of escape from the plunder and danger of property and life in which they were exposed in their former habitations in the colony, from the want of due protection on the part of the authorities, long demanded, but withheld, until in an evil hour they were driven to desperation, and took themselves to emigration.* The dangers from which they fled did not arise so much from the open hostility of the Kafirs as from the hordes of Hottentots and Fingoes wandering about the country, and by open force or stealth carrying off their herds and

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horses, not unfrequently accompanied with bloodshed. Against these spoliations the boers had no remedy, for although, on remonstrance, they were told by the local Government that they should never trust their cattle out except under the care of herdsmen well armed, and that without such precaution proved they would be entitled to no compensation, yet by a curious mockery of this council, a proclamation, termed the "Gunpowder Proclamation," was issued subsequently, prohibiting the issue of gunpowder from any private store, so that the farmers may be said to be delivered up to the mercy of the plundering tribes, without arms or defence. It appears that with regard to the boers, emigrants to Port Natal, the Governor had some time since issued a friendly address, inviting them to return, and promising them protection for the future; but it had little effect, for, badly as the emigrants were off in their new quarters, the return to their old deserted and dilapidated farms, was considered a greater evil than remaining where they were, in the midst of all sorts of danger and privation. The Government, it was said, was resolved on taking possession of Port Natal, and constructing a fort there; upon which it is remarked as strange that it should be contended the boers had no right there, because the territory belonged to the Kafirs, although possessing it by cession, and that the Government, itself making this objection, should nevertheless determine on taking military possession without reference to the native chiefs.

Field-cornet Gideon Joubert was now commissioned by the Governor to proceed to the Emigrants beyond the boundary, at a cost upon the Colonial Treasury of £500. The principal object of his mission was the recovery of certain apprentices, who, it was averred, had been illegally removed by their employers, and he was further directed to repeat to the emigrants His Excellency's invitation, of the 21st of May, to return to the Colony. The following were his

INSTRUCTIONS

By His Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Field-cornet Joubert, and to which he is referred, on his mission to the Emigrant Farmers.

1. Whereas the unlawful departure, from the colony, of many of the inhabitants, as also their abduction of a number of their late slaves— but now apprenticed labourers, has aroused the attention of the people of England, and excited the strongest feelings of indignation of Her Majesty's Government, I have, therefore, deemed it necessary to demand such apprenticed labourers, and, if need be,

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to have them brought back to these parts of the colony from whence they have been thus unlawfully carried away:

2. To you, who as a public functionary rightly possess my full confidence, and whose earlier knowledge of many of the Emigrant Farmers, particularly fit you to fulfil the object of the mission for which you are to be employed, I entrust the important task of demanding and receiving back from those Emigrant Farmers, all such apprenticed laborers who may have been taken from the colony either by force or with their own free will.

3. You will distinctly make it understood to the Emigrant Farmers, as well as to the apprentices themselves, that in case some of the last mentioned, whether they have left the colony voluntarily or by force, may be inclined *not* to return to the colony, it is not for you to insist upon their doing so; but you will have to require from the masters that they bring their apprentices before you, and to take from the latter their own declarations, that they are, indeed, *not* desirous to return.

4. In case the masters, or some of them, refuse to place you in the situation of convincing youself satisfactorily on the subject; or if they, or some of them, refuse to deliver to you such apprentices as wish to return; or in case some of the Emigrant Farmers may carry away, by force, some of the apprentices who have been delivered to your protection, you will, in such cases, as publicly as possible, make known to them that by doing so in any way, they, as a body, will forfeit all farther claim upon the favorable consideration of the British Government, in case adversities and misfortunes should overcome them in the continuation of their present inexcusable undertaking, and put me under the necessity to revoke and repeal my invitation in my letter of the 21st May last.

5 If even all the apprentices are delivered to you, and allowed to remain under your direction, you will by no means consider yourself authorized to enter into negotiations on behalf of the Government with any of the different parties or divisions in which the Emigrant Farmers have collected themselves, with respect to their return to the colony. Nor are you at liberty to enter with any of them into the least discussion concerning their future form of Government, in case they have positively determined to carry on their undertaking; because no form of Government which they may establish will give them the right to be acknowledged as a separate and independent people. But you are fully authorized to embrace every proper opportunity of declaring to the more intelligent persons, or who have the most influence with them, that their undertaking is one which never will be approved of by the British Government, at the same time admonishing them that if that Government is forced to use its power against their blood-thirsty dealing, (handal-

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ingen), they may be assured that neither time nor distance will protect them from punishment.

6. You will also make the Emigrants understand that if they imagine they have only to do with the power and the means of the Colonial Government, they greatly deceive themselves, and will probably discover their fatal error when it is too late; and that, therefore, much of their future welfare will depend upon their own good behaviour.

7. You will, in your communications with the Emigrant Farmers, take care to treat them in the most friendly manner, refraining from all expressions which can give offence, and, as far as is possible, avoiding any conversation concerning the causes which induced them to emigrate, and the circumstances which have occasioned their inconsiderate and desperate step.

8. You will, in your intercourse with these people, make no distinction between those who pretend to consider themselves still as British subjects, and others, who have openly confessed to have shaken off their allegiance, which, notwithstanding their inconsiderate conduct, they always owe to the British Crown.

9. In your progress through the countries of the native tribes, you will not conceal from them the fact that the departure of the Farmers was not, nor has been, encouraged by the Government; but that, on the contrary, it is committed in open transgression of the laws, which prohibit the emigration of colonists over the borders without the knowledge and approbation of the Government. You will also impress upon their minds, that Government is still inclined to do all that is possible to prevent the Emigrants becoming the victims of the inland tribes by whom they are surrounded; while the same Goverment will certainly not suffer to go unpunished any acts of violence or assault on the part of the Emigrants, upon the Aborigines or their possessions. In short, you will assure them, that Government is animated with the most friendly affection towards the Aborigines, and that it is the most ardent wish of Government to preserve peace between the sons of Africa, of whatever color or condition they may be.

10. You will, above all things, promptly pay for whatever you may order and require on your journey for your fellow-travellers as well as for the apprentices who return with you, for which purpose, the requisite funds will be placed at your disposal by the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg.

Given under my hand, and the Great Seal of the Colony, at Cape Town, this 16th day of October, 1838.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

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Field-cornet Joubert returned from his mission to the colony on the 15th of December, bringing 40 apprentices with him, including women and children. He reported having left about 100 of the late slaves behind him, who preferred remaining with their Masters to returning to the colony. The Governor's version to the Legislative Council, when he despatched Joubert, was as follows:—

" A principal object of this mission is the recovery of certain Apprentices under the Abolition Act, who had been illegally removed from the colony by their then employers; and I am happy to say that it has been, as far as I am yet informed, successful in that respect; there appearing to have been no great number of those Apprentices with the Emigrants, *and no refusal to give them up.*"

The temper of the Boers in respect to these Apprentices, said to have been taken "to the shambles in the interior,"* may be gathered from the fact that two of them had been sent round to the colony from Natal in the schooner Mary, in the preceding month of October, the Master paying the expences of their voyage, that they might be in the Colony on the termination of their apprenticeship, the first of December.

The jeopardy in which the boers were placed by the unremitting assaults of the Zoolas induced a number of the Dutch inhabitants within the Colony, during the month of September and October, to declare their intention to join their countrymen, in order to extricate them from their perilous situation. The Government thereon issued the following cautionary notice, which like almost all that preceded was of too vague a character to be much regarded:—

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Information having been received by Government, that it is the intention of certain inhabitants of the northern districts of the colony to join the emigrant farmers, with the view of co-operating with

*In the nervous, *ad-captandum* (but maliciously false) language of Mr. John Fairbairn, " These Natal emigrants had openly carried with them to the *shambles* in the interior the apprentices who had been "*redeemed by* BRITISH MONEY."

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them in an attack on the Zoolas; His Excellency the Governor desires to warn those persons that if they persist in those designs, and carry them into execution, he will be forced, however unwillingly, into the adoption of measures which cannot but prove in the highest degree unfavorable to the interests of the emigrants themselves.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope,
18th October, 1838.

By His Excellency's Command,
(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

The Governor's invitation of the 21st May, addressed to the emigrants, to return to the Colony, was treated with respect, and gravely considered in their council, and, in reply, that body now addressed the following answer to His Excellency, which reiterates all the causes of the migration so frequently brought to the knowledge of the Government:—

To His Excellency Major-General Sir George Napier, Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Sir,—When we compare the several verbal communications, as well as the public journals, with your Excellency's open invitation by proclamation, dated Graham's Town, 21*st May last*, to return to the colony, we fear that your Excellency, prejudiced against us by a party who have incessantly persecuted us with enmity, will not grant us the right of being judged by a calm consideration, guided by your own personal principles; and wishing as much as is in our power to provide herein, we have this day convened our Representative Assembly (*Volkraad*), and on the proposal of the President, have resolved to adopt such measures as may be considered necessary for the prevention of any misunderstanding, rupture, or further alienation.

It is therefore on the full conviction of your Excellency's concern for our fate, that we venture to bring to your Excellency's notice, that our emigration has taken place openly under the eye of Government; while even some of us, taking leave of the Governor, and others of the Lieutenant-Governor, have parted with their best wishes. We have consequently not emigrated in secret; but after the Commandos against the invading Kafirs had been compelled to make peace—after our taxes had been paid, and *after having had the public assurance of the Lieutenant-Governor that there existed no law against a voluntary emigration*, which is so much encouraged in other countries, and to which we have not been actuated or compelled by deception, nor by bad or foolish prejudices, as by

your Excellency's said proclamation it appears to be supposed. The emigration did *not also take place* (as some of our enemies presume) *on account of the emancipation of the slaves;* on the contrary, *a long and sad experience has sufficiently convinced us of the injury, loss, and dearness of slave labor;* so that neither slavery nor slave trade will ever be permitted amongst us; and should Mr. Gideon Joubert do justice to truth, his report on the emancipation of the apprentices will show not only our readiness in complying with the wishes of Government, but will also state, that precautions have been taken by us, for those who did not choose to leave their masters, to put them in the way, should they choose it, to return to the colony.

"When we considor your Excellency's invitation to return to the colony, and the general protection proffered to us, we feel ourselves obliged not only gratefully to acknowledge your Excellency's good-will towards us, but we are even confident, that if our fate depended entirely upon the decision and sentiment, as well as of your Excellency's own principles and liberal ideas of what is just and what is unjust, our case would soon be decided: but as long as the best will is fettered to a chimerical philanthropy, so generally raging in Europe, we fear it will be difficult for your Excellency to do any thing in our favor.

"The reasons of our emigration are different; some of a personal nature, others arose from public causes. Amongst the first, which are numerous, we will just record one—namely, the *illegal arrest of Mrs. Uys,* during the absence of her husband, who was on the Commando against the Kafirs. Those of a public nature principally consist in the disgusting Ordinance No. 19, which is so degrading for us, and the several laws afterwards published, whereby our *slaves have been spoiled and we ourselves ruined.* The emigration was also greatly influenced by the *vagabondizing of the Hottentots* and free Blacks, to whom this and also other offensive acts of drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and profanation of the Sabbath, were allowed with connivance and impunity; add to which, the hard treatment which many of us have undergone after the last *Kafir war; plundered without any cause, robbed, our dwellings destroyed by fire,* yea even our own cattle, which had been retaken, publicly sold, numbers having died in the pounds through neglect, and the amounts appropriated to purposes contrary to law and equity,—*without our receiving any remuneration or indemnification for our stolen cattle,* burned houses, massacred relations, nor for the enormous expenses which we personally incurred for saddles, horses, equipments, and every thing of that nature; and finally, a more general dejection was occasioned by the new regulations *and Kafir treaties of the Lieutenant-Governor, whereby all privileges and protection is secured to the one side, while we were contemptuously placed in the*

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backgrownd, without any prospect of being able to recover the injuries which we have suffered, and exposed to daily ravages and cattle-thefts. For all these reasons, and seeing before us our fast approaching ruin and total destruction, we resolved to emigrate - with extreme anxiety, but with a heart fully trusting in the goodness and protection of the Lord.

"Proceeding at different times in small divisions, we had resolved to direct our steps towards Port Natal; that country being described by some amongst us, who had visited it, as very fertile and salubrious; and though we then had not yet enacted any laws amongst us, we have followed up the generally approved principle, to treat the Kafirs, through whose country we passed, and tribes, with kindness and generosity, and strictly and inviolably to respect their right of property and independence; whereby we have passed several tribes without being obstructed, and in amity, until, in the month of June, 1836, we were attacked in a traitorous manner by the chief Matselikatse, while we were then still at a distance of about forty hours on horseback from his territory, and whereby several families were barbarously butchered, and deprived of all their cattle, &c.; which forced us to commence hostilities against said chief, and to endeavor to retake the cattle which they had stolen from us; for which purpose we went out against him at two different times, and have for the greatest part obtained our views. This chief having afterwards been expelled, Mr. Pieter Retief, approaching the boundaries of the Zoolas, made proposals to the chief Dingaan for the purchase of a piece of ground on the southern part of the river Togala (which land was almost uninhabited); but, after all arrangements were brought to a point of agreement on the most amicable and best terms, he was most barbarously murdered, together with sixty of his companions, children, and friends; which was followed up a few days after by the massacre of three hundred and seventy others, who, under the idea of peace and friendship, unguarded also, became the victims of his love for murder, and were deprived of almost all their cattle. But as your Excellency is already fully acquainted not only with the particulars of the case, but also of that of our hero and friend Piet Uys, we will, without further thinking of this melancholy history, proceed to acquaint your Excellency with the continuation of the emigration, of which three small divisions have arrived at Port Natal at different times, after a long and tedious journey of more than two years. One part has established itself at the head of the Bay, at the place called Congela; another part at the river Umgenie; and the third division also near to the Bay, at the river Omlass; while three other and stronger divisions form a line to the river Togala, at a distance of an interval of from ten to twenty hours on horseback nearer to Dingaan's residence.

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"We trust your Excellency will not only pardon this circumscription, but will perceive thereby that *we act openly, and do not intend to conceal any thing:* on the contrary, we shall continue to place everything under the eye of the world, in order thereby to give an opportunity to every one truly and fairly to judge of our conduct.

"On our arrival in the vicinity of the Bay, we found the surrounding maize plantations totally destroyed by the Zoolas, and the so called tame Caffers residing there, deprived of all their cattle; whereby want soon became perceptible amongst them; of which thousands no doubt would have become the victims, if the arrival of the emigrants, whom they assisted in herding their cattle, &c., had not rescued them from general famine, some of them having already died from want of food. While *now*, their new harvest, consisting of maize plantations, which can hardly be overlooked, (for the extension of which they were encouraged by us,) holds out to them a good and abundant prospect, under the blessing of God, by whom alone the destructive hand of the tyrant Dingaan can be repelled.

"One of our first measures on our arrival here, was to give notice to the chief Faku of our arrival, through the Missionary Jenkins, (to whom, in respect of several other instances, we were under great feeling of gratitude,) and *to make a proposition to him, Faku, of peace and amity;* the favorable result of which, your Excellency will learn from the reply of said Mr. Jenkins. (handed by us to Mr. Joubert.)

"We shall always feel happy in cherishing friendship and peace with all the tribes with whom we may meet: and could we be fortunate enough to enjoy the same with that country where we have left more than one dearly-beloved connexion, we would, burying in oblivion the past sufferings, consider the result fortunate; and for which purpose, no sacrifice on our side will be considered too great.

"As to the so-called tame Caffers here, already mentioned, we find that, with the exception of their natural propensity for thieving, which is particularly limited to eatables, as well as old iron, beads, and other trifles, we have no particular reason for being dissatisfied with them: on the contrary, their conduct shows a certain degree of attachment to their master, to whom they, however, bind themselves but for a short time. The women generally are more industrious, and better fit for the cultivation of the land, which is also performed by them and their children.

"As we fear to tresspass too much on the patience of your Excellency, we shall conclude, trusting that this open and candid statement may not have diminished your Excellency's good inclination towards us, but, on the contrary, that giving satisfactory

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proofs of our peaceable intentions and views, we may thereby have increased your Excellency's concern in our fate. On our part, we can assure your Excellency, that the universal sentiment amongst us is that of high respect and affection for your Excellency's person, *as well as for the Government;* and that nothing will be more pleasing to us than the receipt of equitable proposals from the hands of your Excellency concerning privileged trade with the colony. And we declare also, that all further measures proposed by your Excellency, having in view peace and amity, will be gratefully accepted by us; but at the same time, if even here we are to be persecuted and disturbed by undeserved hatred and persecution, *we shall be under the necessity (having immeasurable fields before us) of seeking elsewhere for that rest and peace which is refused us in such an ungenerous and iniquitous manner."*

We have the honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servants.

The Governor on his return to Cape Town, after a long and protracted visit to the frontier districts, assembled the Legislative Council, on the 10th November, and among a multiplicity of other matters, stated his impressions of the affairs of that part of the Colony.

With regard to the depredations of the Kafirs, still incessantly continuing, notwithstanding the administration of the new philanthropic-Stockenstrom-system—a system which had aggravated the desire of emigration from the Colony—the Governor thus expressed himself:—

I proceeded thither; my first object being to meet the several chiefs who are parties in the Treaties existing between Her Majesty and the Kafir tribes.

With those Chiefs, attended by many of their people, I had several interviews, at which I explained to them that I had been appointed by my Sovereign, the Queen of England, to govern this colony, and to assure them that, as Her Majesty's Representative, I would maintain those Treaties *inviolate;* but at the same time I informed them that I would insist upon the punctual fulfilment, on their part, of the condition of those treaties;—that I had had complaints of *constant and increasing depredations* committed by the Kafirs, which, unless speedily checked, must inevitable lead to war; that if once forced to draw the sword, they might rely that I would not sheath it until they were driven, as before, beyond *the Bashee;* that I would take care that any wrong done to them by Her Majesty's subjects, should be rectified according to the Treaties: *but*

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as the Colonists had strictly performed their obligations under those Treaties, so was I determined that the Kafirs should also perform theirs with equal good faith, and that I should hold the chiefs answerable for any infringement of the same by their people.

To this determined statement of his *intentions* the Kafirs replied by a pie-crust promise, and to the Governor's "satisfaction" *alone*, of "an earnest assurance of their determination to put a stop to all depredations, and in case of any being committed to punish the offenders."

How far this pledge was redeemed by the Kafirs will soon be seen by the Colonial Government Returns of Kafir Depredations upon the Colonists—who still "strictly performed their obligations under the treaties," and how little His Excellency kept *his* promise, that he was "determined the Kafirs should perform them with equal good faith," will also be made apparent.

The Governor then adverted to what he justly called "a subject of the most serious consideration to the whole Colony, THE EMIGRATION OF THE FARMERS:"—

From all I could learn during my progress, and I believe I have visited the greater part of the colony,—as well as by personal intercourse with many of the farmers themselves, I am induced to attribute this emigration *to a variety of causes*,* which I shall briefly mention as already reported by me to Her Majesty's Government:

The constant desire of the Stock Farmers to push into the interior, to obtain more space for grazing their cattle, is a marked feature in the history of the colony; and it is known that every endeavor by the Government to check or prevent this inclination to seek new settlements has failed, so often as it has suited the farmer so to do. The same reasons are still in operation; and besides, when a farmer finds that his neighbours are about to move, he is often prompted to follow them without any motive stronger than a very natural dislike to be left alone.

A *second cause* is assigned;—a feeling of discontent at the insufficiency of the amount awarded in compensation for the late slaves, which is considered by their former owners to have been far below what they had a just right to expect.

* The Lieutenant-Governor has lately, in conference with the farmers, most strangely asserted that the abolition of slavery was the *sole* cause,—"Who shall decide when Doctors disagree?"

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A *third and very general* cause of discontent, is the difficulty experienced by the farmers in procuring proper diagrams of, and titles to their quit-rent lands, originating as it does, in erroneous surveys, occasioned by the negligence, incompetence, or dishonesty, of former surveyors. However, through the measures which have been adopted in this respect, that cause of complaint will soon be removed.

A *fourth cause*, is the losses which the frontier farmers sustained by the late Kafir war, for which they have not received compensation. These losses are of two descriptions, one caused by the pillage and destruction of property by the Kafirs on the first burst of their irruption : the other, those sustained through causes incident to a state of war and the maintenance of a considerable body of troops in the field, and in a country little suited to such operations,—which cannot be dealt with merely on considerations referable to a state of peace. Hence the stern necessity of martial law, and the extreme difficulty of preventing, at all times, individual inconvenience, hardship, and loss of property ; but such loss, where proved, forms, in my opinion—and has been deemed to form—a just ground on which public compensation may be claimed.

I have further to state that in the frontier Districts there is a prevalent dislike to the conditions of the Kafir Treaties, and to the general policy pursued towards that people,—which has also been assigned as a cause of emigration : that policy being considered by the farmers as inconsistent with the due security of their property.

His Excellency then stated the determination of Her Majesty's Government *not to permit colonization at Natal*, nor the erection there of any independent sovereignty, and that he had been induced from those considerations to take *temporary* possession of the place, which last act it is now known was never directed or authorized by the home government :—

Whilst on this part of my subject, it is proper that I should state the determination of Her Majesty's Government to permit no further British Colonization in this part of Africa, nor the erection of any pretended independent State by any of Her Majesty's Subjects, which the Emigrant Farmers still continue to be. They must, therefore, be restrained, not only from making any such attempts, but from the commission of any hostile act against the Native Tribes, or any invasion of their Territories. Proceedings such as these are pregnant with evil consequences, not only to the Emigrants themselves, but to their fellow subjects in the Colony : for the Natives will assuredly impute those proceedings not merely to those engaged in them, but to the Colonists generally, and to the Government itself; and they, the Natives, so attacked or molested,

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will not be slow to discover that they too may try their, as yet unknown, strength with perhaps equal effect, and in such case at least with more than equal justice on their side.

These considerations have induced me to send an expedition to take Military possession of Port Natal, as a temporary measure, in order, as far as possible, to restrain both parties, and thereby stop the further effusion of human blood.

It is my intention to assist the Emigrants in all ways except in enabling them to make war; for I will, as far as possible, prevent their acquiring the means of subjugating the Native Tribes, or maintaining their conquests. At the same time, if they demean themselves quitely and peaceably in the occupation of ground from which they have not dispossessed the natives, I shall endeavor to protect, and enable them to maintain themselves for the present, against wanton attack, although I will not commit any act of hostility against the Native Tribes, unless they attack or insult the British Flag; and with these feelings towards the Emigrants, I have allowed some provision to be made for their immediate and most pressing wants; future assistance must depend on their own conduct.

I repeat, that the occupation of Port Natal is, a *temporary measure*: *its object the prevention of further hostilities, and not colonization;* and the instructions given to the Commander of the expedition, Major Charters, are in perfect accordance with the views of Her Majesty's Government in those respects.

The Governor thereon issued the following proclamation or manifesto, *seizing* the harbor of Natal and part of the adjoining territory, repudiating the bare possibility of its being considered a *permanent* measures or partaking in the least of the nature of colonization, and closing all trade without special licence, authorizing at the same time the officer in command to *expel or detain any persons* HE *might consider dangerous, and to seize from the settlers at Natal all arms and munitions of war found there on his arrival!*

PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, C.B.

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS Her Britannic Majesty's Government has been pleased to approve of the proposed occupation of Port Natal, in Southern

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Africa, by Her Majesty's Forces, in consequence of the disturbed state of the Native Tribes in the Territories adjacent to that Port, arising in a great degree from the unwarranted occupation of parts of those Territories by certain Emigrants from this Colony, being Her Majesty's subjects; and the probability that those disturbances will continue and increase, so that the whole of that part of Southern Africa may speedily become the scene of the most sanguinary wars of extermination;—and whereas Her Majesty's Government will no longer suffer such a state of affairs to exist within the reach or influence of the Government of this Colony, nor such atrocities to be participated in, if not originated by the acts of the said Emigrants, Her Majesty's subjects: I do therefore hereby proclaim and declare my determination to seize the said harbour of Port Natal, and to erect a Fort therein, and to seize so much of the Territory surrounding the said Harbour, in whose hands soever the said Fort and Territory adjacent thereto shall happen to be at the time of such seizure, as shall be necessary for the proper occupation, maintenance, and defence of the said Fort; and to keep possession of the same, in Her said Majesty's name, until otherwise directed by Her Majesty's Government.

And I do further proclaim and declare, that the sole object of Her Majesty's Government in the proposed occupation of Port Natal is to prevent its being held by any of the hostile parties, and to secure by such occupation the power of effectual interference in maintaining the peace of Southern Africa by such means and to such extent as shall hereafter appear to be necessary; *and that, for such end, the said occupation shall be purely military and of a temporary nature, and not partaking in any degree of the nature of colonization or annexure to the Crown of Great Britain, either as a Colony or a Colonial Dependency;* wherefore the said Fort shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, *closed against all trade, except such as shall be carried on under the special licence and permission* of the Government of this Colony, any clearance or permission granted by any British, Colonial, or Foreign Custom-house to the contrary notwithstanding.—And in order to ensure the maintenance of this prohibition, I do hereby authorise and require the Officer who shall be in the Command of the said Fort, for the time being, to prevent, by force of Arms, if necessary, the entry of any Vessel into said Harbour, for the purpose of Trade, or the landing from any Vessel of any Cargo, of what description soever, on the Coast adjacent to the said Fort, unless such Vessel be provided with such Licence as aforesaid, and unless the same shall have been produced to, and shall be to the satisfaction of the said Officer in Command.

And for the better maintenance of due order and subordination within the Limits of the said Military Possession, I do hereby

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authorise and require the said Officer in Command to expel from the said Limits any person or persons whomsover, whose presence within the same shall by him be deemed prejudicial or dangerous to the proper maintenance and defence of the said possession, and if necessary, to take into custody, and keep therein, any such person or persons whenever, and for so long a time as he shall deem necessary: And further, to prevent any person or persons from residing or harbouring within such possession, in case he shall see reasonable cause to object thereto: *And further, to search for, seize, and retain in military possession, all Arms and Munitions of War, which at the time of the seizure of Port Natal, shall be found in the possession of any of the inhabitants of that place*,—care being taken that the same be duly kept in proper order, and receipts being granted to the owners thereof.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this Fourteenth day of November, 1838.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) JOHN BELL, Sec. to Govt.

The view taken of this measure by part of the colonial press, was as follows:—

We have perused that Proclamation with deep regret and concern, as well in respect of our unfortunate expatriated countrymen, as with regard to our public rights.

When in the latter part of 1834, the frontier farmers were quietly and peaceably living on their farms, following up their agricultural pursuits, they were suddenly assaulted by the invading Caffers, their houses and dwellings were burned down, their property destroyed, their cattle driven away, their families massacred, and they were thrown as miserable beggars on the wide field of the earth.—A general Commando of all the farmers was called out by the Governor of the Colony, for the purpose of repelling the invading Caffers, and that call they cheerfully obeyed. During more than a year they performed the duties of a common soldier,—wandering from bush to bush; they shed their blood in defence of the Colony—and exposed to all privations, and without receiving any remuneration, they faithfully did their utmost to maintain the integrity of Her Majesty's frontier of this Colony. Peace followed, and they returned to the places where they once had a home, but where now, like the ravens in the rocks, they were to shelter themselves and families under the ruins which the rage of the flames, or the haste of the savage enemy had left undestroyed. Their misery, when expatiated upon, was scornfully laughed at, - their services, during

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a time which they might have been usefully employed in procuring subsistence for themselves and families, remained unremunerated,—compensation for their losses was withheld,—and the small pittance which they obtained from subscriptions of humane friends in this Colony, and in the East, was the only helping hand that was stretched forward to support the life of those half-starving sufferers. Government did nothing to relieve them. It was peace,—but night and day the farmers were impunely attacked on their farms by the Caffers and Fingoes, and Mantatees, and all sorts of vagrants and vagabonds, and their cattle and horses, their only means of support, were stolen away, and they themselves exposed to wanton assaults, even before the doors of their ruined houses. The complaints to Government were incessant, but fruitless; loud was the call for Laws to suppress such vagrancy, but to no effect. The poor farmer who had first been ruined with his family by the invasion of the Caffers,—who had served Government for a whole year, without receiving any remuneration,—and whose pittance, which he had obtained by private subscriptions, was being taken away from him by legalized incessant robberies of the Caffers,—and whom the Government could not, or would not protect....what was he to do? Remain where he was, to be robbed until he was bare naked? or until he felt "the edge of the assegaai?" No, they followed the example of those, who centuries ago left their parent country to seek shelter, and peace, and safety elsewhere. The French emigrated to this Colony,—the English to America! They followed up the system of the present century; and as from Germany, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, the people emigrated,—so they, having heard by report, that at Port Natal there was a Chief, great, powerful, and rich in productive land and fertile pasturage, called Dingaan,—agreed to send some people to him to bargain for land to live on.—He promised them land in Port Natal, being part of his territory,—and the poor farmers having no other prospect before them but misery and ruin, and being left by their Government without protection,—turned their backs upon their native country, and emigrated to a spot, where a savage Chief offered them peace and safety.—The first encounter they had, was an attack of the Matsilikatzi tribe upon their whole camp,—which they defended until the enemy withdrew.—The next adventure was, the treacherous murder by Dingaan of all their leading men, and the horrible massacre and bloodshed committed by that fiendish chief, on the men, women, and children, in their camp.—They acted on the defensive,—and retreated; but were after some time again attacked by Dingaan's army, and again repulsed them. In none of those attacks were they the aggressors,—they only defended their lives and properties,—having entered into the territory of Dingaan, by his own consent and agreement.

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Our minds, therefore, have been filled with the deepest regret imaginable, on perceiving that His Excellency considers their *occupation of that country, as unwarrantable*, and the *atrocities* which have been committed therein, *as participated therein, if not originated by, the acts of the emigrants.*

The facts as we have stated, are of public notoriety in the Colony, although we have no doubt that in other places they may have been misrepresented.

Dingaan was the first who suggested to some farmers. who were with him on a shooting party, the idea of an emigration to his country ; and it was not till after he had granted them a part of his territory, situated in Port Natal, that the Emigrants entered it. How then were the Emigrants *unwarranted* in its occupation ? Had not Dingaan as much right to dispose of a portion of his country in favor of certain emigrants, as the Dutch Government had to do in favor of the " *French Refugees,*" who emigrated to this country in 1687? Or as the European Nations have assumed, of ceding away colonies and populations, and even countries by wholesale? James I. gave Letters Patent for the occupation of parts of North America, which he did not possess, but which at that time was the legal property of the Natives! Pope Alexander VI. divided the East and West Indies, which was not his, between Portugal and Spain! *They* had less right to do this than Dingaan had, to grant away to the Emigrants a part of his country.

It is a known fact of history, that before the French refugees emigrated to this Colony, they first obtained the consent of the Home Government, and *a promise* of a tract of land, which was, after its occupation, called *Franschhoek.* If, therefore, those emigrants arriving here, had been attacked by the Colonial Government, at that time, and repulsed the attack, would any one have thought of calling it *an unwarrantable possession of the land,* or have accused those emigrants, that the *atrocities which were committed, originated by their acts*? Would not the whole of civilized Europe have raised an outcry against the treachery of the Dutch, Home, or Colonial Government? Would there not have been one unanimous feeling of compassion in their favor? And why should our enlightened feeling, in the present times of liberality and philanthropy, not be consonant to those of barbarous ages? Why ?.... Is it because the treacherous, cruel, barbarous chief, was Dingaan,—and the poor sufferer is an unfortunate Dutch Boer ?.... O, how benevolent is the philanthropy of the present times!

The expedition under Major Chartres left Table Bay for Natal on the 20th of November, but before it could arrive, in order to prevent the farmers taking deserved vengeance upon

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the miscreant Dingaan, for such appears to have been the object, as the Governor had stated he was determined to prevent them subjugating the natives, that consummation had been fully achieved by the destruction of the despot.

The following journal of the farmers, in their expedition against and conquest of Dingaan, is of sufficient interest to find a place in these pages, in its original state, *verbatim et literatim* :—

Journal of the Expedition of the Emigrant Farmers, under their chief Commandant A. P. W. Pretorius. (*formerly of Graaff-Reinet*), *against Dingaan, King of the Zoolas, in the months of November and December*, 1838,—*undertaken for the purpose of revenging the most cruel and barbarous murder of the late Chief of the Emigrants, Pieter Retief and his sixty companions, and the subsequent inhuman butchery of men, women, and children, committed by Dingaan and his men*; *and also for the purpose of recovering the goods & property stolen by them from the Emigrants on those occasions.—The Journal was kept by an Emigrant, Mr. J. G. Bantjes, the Clerk of the Representative Assembly, who acted during the Expedition as the Secretary to the chief Commandant, Pretorius.*

Togela's Sprout, November 26, 1838.

Whereas, Mr. Andries Wilhs. Joes. Pretorius has arrived at this place a few days ago, with some of his party, in order to march in war against Dingaan, Chief of the Zoolas, with a Commando, for the purpose of endeavoring to recover the things which had been stolen by him from our brother Emigrants, after he had cruelly butchered them;—a general feeling of rejoicing was felt by the whole community, on account of this arrival. The appointment of said Mr. Pretorius as chief officer, or Commandant of the commando about to march, was then proposed to the Representative Assembly, who gladly assented, and having previously taken the votes of the other Commandants, he was unanimously elected. He was therefore appointed, under the congratulations of all present, under proper instructions framed by the Representative Assembly. When he, Mr, Pretorius, now the chief Commandant, expressed his thanks in a becoming manner, and said, that though reluctantly, yet, as the vote had fallen upon him, and in consideration of the state in which his fellow travellers were placed, shut up in their camp as in a prison, he would willingly take that important task upon him, and would use all his endeavors, to do all that which is requisite, for the good of our interests. All this induced me to ac-

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company the commando, for the purpose of noting down the necessary observations, being confident of a prudent command.

I therefore lost no time, and sent my wagon the next day, being the 27th November, 1838, amongst the wagons of the commando. On the day following, being the 28th, I followed, and reached the commando at the small Togala Spruit. The chief Commandant had already proceeded, and we went on to the other side of the Great Togala, in the entrance under the rising ground. The camp was then pitched, and enclosed by the wagons, 57 in number, and when all preparations had been made, the sun was setting.

Here my attention was drawn to the first commencement of the government of the Chief Commandant; for he ordered that the camp should be properly enclosed, and the gates well secured, after the cattle should be within the same, and that the night patrols should be properly set out; all which was executed with the greatest activity and readiness.

After all this had been arranged, the officers met in the tent of the chief Commandant; which officers were Carel Pieter Landman (2d Commandant), Pieter Daniel Jacobs (2d member of the Court Martial), Jacobus Potgieter (successor of the 2d Commandant), and also the other Commandants, Johannes de Lange and Stephanus Erasmus, with their Field-cornets. They held an amicable conversation, for the purpose of agreeing on the measures of the Commando. The chief Commandant then requested Mr. Cilliers to perform evening Divine service, and the old Evening Hymn was sung, which Mr. Cilliers concluded with a most fervent prayer. The chief Commandant further ordered the Commandant Erasmus to go out with a patrol in the night to spy the kraals of Tobe, as he intended to make the first attack on these. This was done. Now, the weather was rainy, and it rained by showers.

The next day we rose, and every one was glad. After we had enjoyed some refreshments, the chief Commandant requested me to assist him in writing. He gave me to write a strict order or regulation for the commando, which he had framed in a few words. After I had done this the Commandants were assembled, and their approbation thereof asked, which they gave. I then made copies of that order for each Commandant; in the mean time the patrol of Commandant Erasmus returned, but had not traced anything, on account of the unfavorable weather, and had seen nothing but smoke here and there from the kraals.

We were obliged to stay here, to wait for the men of Commandant Landman, who had sent a message that they could not be here before the 2d of the next month.

I then resolved, with the permission of the chief Commandant, to ride back to the great camp, where I remained until Monday, the 2d December, when I returned to the commando, and I overtook

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them while they were proceeding ; and after having proceeded further on our way, we arrived at the same river, somewhat higher up, where we encamped. Here I inquired, in what manner the last Sunday had been spent, and became informed that Mr. Cilliers had performed Divine Service with all those who were present; that he had commenced Divine Service with singing the 1st and 4th verses of the 51st Psalm ; that after the public prayers he had sung the 2d Anthem from Psalm cxvi. 6, 7 ; and had afterwards preached about Josua, and concluded with a public prayer, and the singing of the two last verses of the 3d Psalm. The evening was spent in prayers, which Mr. Cilliers began, by singing some appropriate verses, which was followed up by Mr. J. Vermaak, and the Service was again concluded in a proper manner with prayers.

Our commando in the meanwhile proceeded on. We were rejoiced at the arrival of the long expected party of the Commandant Landman; the number of his men was 123, besides the English and Kafirs. Speedily a consultation took place, and Commandant De Lange was immediately sent out with 3 men on some further spying expedition. In the mean time Daniel Bothma was brought before the chief Commandant for unwillingness to mount his guard, and using abusive language towards his Commandant; he also made use of improper expressions before the chief Commandant, who was obliged severely to reprimand him for it.—The Commandant Jacobs, who lodged the complaint against him, used his influence to obtain his pardon, under a severe reprimand, and a promise of better behaviour, which was granted. In the evening the chief Commandant held a conversation with the several Commandants, about his and their duties, with which they had undertaken to comply, under the instructions of the Representative Assembly, and about the steps which were necessary to be taken against the enemy, and resolved thereafter to break up the camp on the next day, and to proceed.

On the 4th December, we continued our journey from the Togala, proceeding through a plain open field, (the field is rather sour, but may be useful,) as far as the Klip River, which we passed. About a quarter of an hour on the other side thereof, the field begins to look most beautiful, dressed with sweet grass, presenting a youthful verdure, and variegated by mimosa trees. Having proceeded a little further on, we encamped ; and here we had a beautiful sight of the field, but there was no running water.

The camp having been pitched, the chief Commandant again gave me to write *An Ordinance for the prevention of improperly attacking, or interfering with, the free Persons of Color*, which I finished, and then, after the evening Divine service had been performed, I retired to sleep.

The following day, being the 5th December, all was still in good order. Every one looked out, and was anxious for the return of the

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spies who were sent out, as we were to remain here waiting for their report or return.—In the meantime the chief Commandant, after having assembled all his officers and their men, began in the first place to read to them, for their encouragement and admonition, a letter of a brother and friend, Mr. Christian Hatting, which was addressed to all his emigrant brethren, and this letter was well worth the attention of the audience.—The chief Commandant then addressed himself to those under his command, which greatly roused the spirit of many, while he himself, speaking with great feeling, was much moved in his heart. He then next read another letter, addressed to him by the Reverend Mr. van der Lingen. This was also most worthy of being read, and every one felt grateful towards God, for receiving such consolatory messages in such a barren wilderness. The chief Commandant also performed the utmost of his duty, by impressing this circumstance on the minds of his men. He also communicated to them his answer thereon, which every one lauded.—He then further admonished them all, to begin this most important task which they had undertaken, (and which must be blessed by the Most High, should it be successful,) with supplications and prayers to the Throne of God, for to remain steadfast to the end, and to show obedience to their superiors, as otherwise we can expect no blessing, and our ruin, to the great rejoicing of our persecutors and enemies, will have been occasioned by ourselves.

He then proceeded to read the instructions, framed for himself, by the Representative Assembly, and to point out to them the great responsibility with which he was charged thereby. He then read the strict Order framed by him for the Commandants, and also the last mentioned Ordinance. He then called towards him all the inferior officers, according to rank; the assistant commandants, the Field-cornets, down to the corporals, exhorted them to behave with courage and prudence, if necessary: reminded them how any design undertaken without God is frustrated; how every one was to act when engaged with the enemy; that we, as reasonable creatures, born under the light of the Gospel, should not be equal to them in destroying innocent women and children; and that we may pray of God every thing, which is not contrary to his great righteousness. He admonished them further, to press on the minds of the men under them, to submit every morning and evening their duties and their doing to the Lord in prayers; and to spend the holy Sabbath to the honor of God, and not use that great name in vain, nor calumniate the Most High. He further expressed his great joy in experiencing that peace, reasonableness, and fraternal love, was still reigning amongst so many thousand souls, living together as in one and the same house,—and that this was more than he had expected;—that he had, however, to admonish every one to join their hands together, to remove everything that might tend to give rise to disunion; so that we, as one body, might, with the assistance of God, accomplish

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our intended work; and finally, repeatedly reminded us that "unity createth power." Amongst others, *he strictly prohibited any one to interfere with the Kafir children or women during the conflict, or to take them prisoners.*

The successor of the chief Commandant also mounted the carriage of the cannon, and said, that every one should notice that which the chief Commandant had communicated to us; that we ought to be most grateful to God for such valuable admonitions; that in all our doings we should give the honor to God; how it was now our time all to kneel down, and humble ourselves before God, for that our enemies, like the wolves, were watching our destruction; that in particular we must be grateful to God that he has provided us with such a chief, who is wise in all his doings, and who even shows himself careful as well for our spiritual as bodily welfare. The chief Commandant again resumed, and dwelt upon every thing which he considered might be ruinous to us, and that we might well acknowledge the truth of what had been stated by his successor, &c. He then requested every one to unite in prayer, requesting Mr. S. Cilliers to conclude this momentous meeting with a solemn prayer, who first addressed the chief Commandant, and in very appropriate language, exhorted him to his duty, and so on all the officers according to their ranks, and all the men, and thereafter concluded with a solemn prayer. Thus was this moment properly spent; every one was affected, and general silence and calmness prevailed.

We expected every moment the return of Commandant de Lange from his expedition.

In the mean time I proceeded to take a general return for the chief Commandant, of the number of men on the commando, which I found to be, including the persons of color, 464 men, besides the Commandants. A report from the Togala, by a Kafir, was also received, sent by an Englishman named Robert Joice, requesting E. Parker to send him a horse, he being unable to proceed further on foot. Said Parker submitted that request to the chief Commandant, who gave his consent. In the mean time, the chief Commandant examined the Kafirs at Port Natal, and gave them the necessary orders. At last we were so fortunate as to see Commandant de Lange return from his expedition as a spy, bringing with him a Kafir of the tribe of Tobe, as a prisoner, "*a stout man, more than six feet high.*" We, however, regretted to be informed, that having with his three followers, while riding about, unexpectedly got amongst the kraals, they were compelled to defend their lives, and to fire, so that in a moment they kil'ed three Kafirs, and took one prisoner, while the others all escaped. They brought with them 11 sheep, and 14 head of cattle, which they had found there. This was a greater curiosity then to have seen the Kafir when he came riding on horseback; such as no one had ever seen before, in respect of

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largeness and fatness. All the ewes had lambs, and even of these the tails had been cut, while the rams were obliged to drag their tails after them, to the great burthen of their bodies, on account of the size.

The Commandant de Lange, having reported to the chief Commandant the occurrences, the Council of War resolved to break up the camp the next day, and to place it a little nearer, for the purpose of attacking the tribes of said Tobe. The chief Commandant at the same time took the opportunity of questioning the Kafir prisoner ;—whatever we got from him was of no importance, and which it is not necessary to record.

The next day, being the 6th of the said month, we pursued our undertaking, and marched on with our Commando to a similar river, where we encamped, and then forthwith a meeting was held, about proceeding against the tribe of Tobe. It was resolved to do this, and only to take so many head of cattle with them as might be necessary for provisioning the Commando. For that purpose 300 men were immediately commanded, and they left in the afternoon. I observed their departure, and saw the chief Commandant (when a little way from the camp), dividing them in five divisions, to the number of Commandants, and issuing the necessary orders to each of the officers. All this having been done, they followed him in a regular way. The chief Commandant also gave orders to secure the camp immediately after his departure, with thorn branches (mymosas), which was done. The Kafir prisoner went with the commando.

The Commandant Jacobs having been left behind in the camp, about the evening, ordered 50 men to proceed with him that night to the Maize Gardens, in order to see what sort of kraals there were; which was done. On the next day, being the 7th of said month, the patrols and spies were duly sent out, and shortly afterwards, the Commandant Jacobs and his men arrived, without having found out anything, whilst all the Kafirs had taken to flight.

In the afternoon, the chief Commandant arrived with the commando; but every place was deserted, and Tobe's Kafirs had also fled, occasioned by the alarm of Commandant de Lange on the preceeding day, so that they could not be overtaken ; they brought with them 27 goats and 7 sheep, not having met with anything else, and having seen only a few signals at great distance. The general conversation then taking place, was about the unpassableness of the road, which they had to go to overtake the Kafirs. I thought I might make sure to get some information from persons not residing here, and who may be relied upon, about the state of the field; which I did, and received for answer, that all over Africa they had never yet seen such beautiful and fertile lands. Now, the horses, to our great regret, were all knocked up. It was therefore resolved at once to march towards Dingaan's residence without any further

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delay. We proceeded the next day, being the 8th of the month, on our undertaking, marching on through an open level field, until we arrived at the Zondags River. We had, in the meantime, also passed two rivers of the same kind, which, by the road, had no running water, but, according to the statements of the patrols, had running fountains near their origin.

The fields along the Zondags River are splendid and beautiful, overgrown on both sides with valley-shrubs of every description, and as far as we went, the grass was quite sweet. We thus proceeded on, and crossed another valley, which, along the road, contained stagnant waters. We went further on between two flat heights, through a sandy passage; a horrible bad road, large rocks, and then several deep ditches, some very muddy; having passed all this, we got to an extensive valley, which offered a beautiful view. We went through it and continued until we came to a river with running water, named by the former commando the "*Bly River*," situate under a flat mountain; here we encamped. The next day, being the 9th, all was well, and we remained over to celebrate the Sabbath; while the previous Saturday evening had been spent in the tent of the chief Commandant, with the singing of some appropriate hymns, and a fervent prayer delivered by Mr. Cilliers.

On Sunday morning, before Divine service commenced, the chief Commandant called together all those who were to perform that service, and requested them to propose to the congregation, "that they should all fervently, in spirit and in truth, pray to God for his relief and assistance in their struggle with the enemy; that he wanted to make a vow to God Almighty (if they all were willing), that should the Lord be pleased to grant us the victory, we would raise a House to the memory of His Great Name, wherever it should please Him;" and that they should also supplicate the aid and assistance of God, to enable them to fulfil their vow, and that we would note the day of the victory in a book, to make it known even to our latest posterity, in order that it might be celebrated to the honor of God.

Messrs. Cilliers, Landman, and Joubert were glad in their minds to hear it. They spoke to their congregations on the subject, and obtained their general concurrence. When after this, Divine service commenced,—Mr. Cilliers performed that which took place in the tent of the chief Commandant. He commenced by singing from Psalm xxxviii. v. 12-16, then delivered a prayer, and preached about the 24 first verses of the 6th chapter of Judges.; and thereafter delivered the prayer in which the beforementioned vow to God was made, with a fervent supplication for the Lord's aid and assistance for the fulfilment thereof. The 12th and 21st verses of said 38th Psalm were again sung, and the service was concluded with singing the 134th Psalm. In the afternoon the congregations met again, and several appropriate verses were sung. Mr. Cilliers again

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made a speech, and delivered prayers solemnly; and in the same manner the evening was also spent.

The following day, being the 10th of the month, we again proceeded, crossed the river, and were much impeded by the grass being very high in the road, and dangerous to ride through. We were obliged to set fire to it; and having done this, we passed several ditches, and ascended the mountain, which was very steep, and covered with large rocks; and it was late in the evening before we had got over it. The field in itself is beautiful, good, and plentifully supplied with grass, and several fountains are found along the road, which seem to have been filled up; and we therefore saw nothing but bubblings.

A short distance from this inacessible mountain, we came to an extensive valley, which had a beautiful sight, overgrown with clover, and valley grass and herbs of every description. Here we encamped. Several signals were seen; but the patrols which had been out came back, having discovered nothing, but only seen in different directions smoke, which they supposed to come from the van of Dingaan's kraals. The next day, being the 11th, we continued our journey, and some wagons went out of the road, for the purpose of loading some elks, which the day before had been shot by the patrols; there were also several which had been killed that morning which were all put on the wagons. The wagons had not all come together yet, when we received reports that Caffers had been seen; probaby Dingaan's commando. With the greatest speed, the camp was pitched on the other side of the *Omsingatie* (the translation of which is Buffalo River.) The chief commandant in the mean time sent some of his people to meet them, and remained behind himself, to make personal arrangements in the camp, not being sure himself whether it was the commando; but a little while after, reports came back, that they were merely spies. Those, however, who were sent out on our side, crossed their places, where there were several Caffer kraals, and found nine of them, who, having engaged, were all killed. Several fresh traces were also seen. About the evening, a Caffer was seen at a distance passing the flats, but he could not be well distinguished. Two men were immediately sent off. The Caffer had, however, concealed himself in a reed bush, but Mr. Parker, who had also followed them, coming from behind was the first who found him, having with him a knapsack with maize. He was about throwing his assegaai, but said Parker fired and killed him. Having thus passed the day, we remained here during the night.

The next day, being the 12th Dec., the patrols went out early. As it rained we remained over here. A Caffer spy was shot by the patrols. Mr. Parker, having been out with his Caffer spies, had also taken one prisoner, besides some women and children, which latter he left under the protection of his comrades, while he

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himself went before them to the camp with the Caffer prisoner; but the Caffer, being fastened to the reim of Parker's horse, on the way got hold of Parker by his gun, and pulled him from his horse on the ground; he had but his knob kirrie, and could not do much as his arms were tied; so Parker had the good fortune, as the Caffer was lying upon his gun, which was a short double barrel, to fire both charges into the arm and shoulder of the Caffer. He thus escaped, and leaving one of his companions with the wounded Caffer, reported the circumstance to the chief Commandant, who himself repaired thither to speak to the wounded Caffer, but whom he found dying on the spot. The women and children having arrived, the chief Commandant gave them liberty to return; but gave them a sign, being a white flag, to show to their king that they had been set at liberty, and to announce to him that we were now come to wage war with him, and that, if he were willing, we were ready to conclude peace with him, if he will deliver up the horses and guns of our butchered brethren, leaving it, however, to his option; or, if he were otherwise inclined, that we were prepared to wage war with him even for ten years running.—The name of the chief Commandant was written on the said flag.

The women were very grateful for their merciful release by the chief Commandant, and praised him above their king; for, said they, he never pardons any defenceless woman or harmless child, but causes them often, for pleasure sake, to be put to death. They thanked him a thousand times for their lives. The chief Commandant further assured them, that they, and even their husbands, might safely bring back a message; that if they only had the sign with them, which was now given, no harm would be done to them; and moreover told them, that no woman or child would be killed by us. They continued to express their thanks, and went to deliver the message.

On the 13th December we proceeded on, the weather being bad, for some time along the river, which runs eastward, to get nearer to the wood. While we were departing, the Caffer spies again reported having seen some Caffers, three in number, which were found by the patrols, and they were all killed. In the afternoon another patrol returned, making report that they had met a great number of Caffers, in a certain place on a mountain, who had many head of cattle with them; but being only four men together, they dared not hazard themselves any further, after they had killed three of the Caffers, and the gun of one of them had become useless.

We stayed here during the night, and on the next day, being the 14th December, 120 men, who had been commanded on the previous evening, went out by dawn of day to attack said Caffers. I now made enquiries after the number of Caffers who had been killed up to this morning, which I found to be "Twenty-three." In the evening the patrols returned, and had again killed eight Caffers in a

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skirmish. The next day, being the 15th December, we went on further, to a spruit, where we encamped, and where instantly reports arrived from one of the patrols, that they had fallen upon five of the Zoolas, and had killed one of them, while the others had made away, by means of the impassableness of high banks and ditches. From another patrol there also arrived a report, that they had seen an equally great number, and, continuing their way, had discovered a great number who were in a very dangerous and inaccessible place. This last report was made on Saturday, the 15th, while we were just encamped at another spruit. Having well secured the camp, the chief Commandant repaired to said place with part of his men, having also received reports of the Commandant de Lange of its being the Commando of the Caffers which was approaching.

The chief Commandant, having arrived at that place, thought it advisable (as it was about the evening, and several men were out on patrols in different directions, so that he had too few with him to make an attack at so inaccessible a place; the more so as the Sabbath was at hand,) to postpone the attack till the next Monday, (even if they were to approach nearer), in order not to profaue the Sabbath. The chief Commandant ordered the barriers and gates to be properly secured, and that all men should be up about two hours before daylight. Every thing was complied with; at the appointed time all men were roused, and we held ourselves in readiness. Sunday, the 16th, was a day as if ordained for us. The sky was open, the weather clear and bright. Scarcely was the dawn of day perceivable, when the guards, who were still on their posts, and could scarcely see, perceived that the Zoolas were approaching. Now, the patrols were all together in the camp, having been called in the day previous by alarm signals of the cannon. The enemy then approached at full speed, and in a moment they had surrounded the camp on all sides. In the meantime the day began to dawn, so that they might be seen approaching, while their advanced lines had already been repulsed by the firing from the camp. Their approach, although frightful on account of the great number, yet presented a beautiful appearance. They approached in regiments, each captain with his men following him. In the same way the patrols had seen them come up the day previous, until they had all surrounded us. I could not count them, but it is said that a Caffer prisoner had given the number of 36 regiments, which regiments may be calculated at from 9 to 10,000 men. The battle now commenced, and the cannons were discharged from every gate of the camp; the battle then became violent, even the firing from the muskets from our side as well as from theirs. After this had been kept up for full two hours by the watch, the chief Commandant (as the enemy was continually bestorming the camp, and he was afraid

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that we would get short of ammunition), ordered *that all the gates of the camp should be opened, and the fighting with the Caffers take place on horseback.* This was done, and to our regret, they took to flight so hastily, that we were obliged to hunt after them. Few remained in the camp, and the chief Commandant in person, after having given the necessary directions, also followed them. His shooting horses had been taken by others, and he himself was obliged to mount a wild horse; he pursued a large party, and, riding in full speed, he got upon them. One of the Zoolas rushed upon him, he however discharged one of the barrels of his gun to kill the Caffer, but the horse whereon he was mounted was so frightened that he missed, and wishing to discharge the other shot, did not know that the stopper of the lock had been closed, so that he could not cock his gun! Now, no time was to be lost; he jumped from his horse—the Caffer at once rushes upon, stabs at him with his assegai, which he parried off twice with his gun; but the third time, unable to do otherwise, he parried it off with his left hand, in which the Caffer then stuck his assegaai. He now falls upon the Caffer, lays hold of him, and throws him on the ground, and holds him fast, though he struggled terribly, until P. Roedeloff came to his assistance; he then forced the assegai out of his hand, and stabs the Caffer under him, so that he died. He then returned to the camp to have the wound dressed, which was done. He, however, said that he hoped no one would be terrified, that this wound could do him no harm, and that he was glad of having been the only man, in such a serious conflict, who had been slightly wounded; the wound, however, was bad. We also ascertained, with regret, that Gerrit Raath had met with a similar accident, in the same manner as with the chief Commandant, but he was dangerously wounded in his side; as also Philip Fourie, who had been dangerously wounded with an assegai during the battle in the camp, which was also dangerous. G. Raath remained in the field, and was fetched away, and brought to the camp on a stretcher. Thus the Zoola commando was pursued for more than three hours, and we returned, as we were all short of ammunition. The chief Commandant ordered the cleaning of the guns, and that every man should provide himself with ammunition. This was complied with, and balls were also cast. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to God, and after Divine Service had been performed, the chief Commandant again sent a strong party to pursue the Zoolas as far on as they could; but they returned in the evening, not having been able to come up with them. The next day we counted the number of the slain; those who had been killed about and near the camp, of which some have not been counted, with those who had been overtaken and killed, we found amounted to, the lowest certain number, more than 3000, besides the wounded.

We proceeded on our journey, and got to the '*Omslatoes*' on the

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19th. In the mean while several spies and Caffers were killed. I should also mention that '*Dingaan's servant,*' in his *full dress*, was also killed during the conflict near the camp !—Being encamped at the 'Omslatoes,' the patrols, while spying, saw Dingaan's Town covered with clouds of smoke. We could form no conception of what it meant; meanwhile we broke up the next day, and marched on towards it.—N.B. Two Caffers were caught after the battle had ended, and these also the chief Commandant sent to Dingaan, with the same message which he had given to the women and children before mentioned; another was again caught, and this he also sent to Dingaan. One of the prisoners is now our guide. We went on, and encamped near to his town on the 20th, at a distance of about a quarter of an hour. No sooner had the camp been formed, but a commando was ordered towards the town.

We went with about 900 men, and found the town deserted, and the palace of the King totally burnt down, together with the whole upper part of his town. The chief Commandant ordered all that was found to be brought together, and whatever was in the fire such as iron and copper, to be taken out and taken care of. We went back again, and next day, being the 21st, we fixed our camp on the very hill "where the unfortunate Mr. Retief and company had been butchered." *The sight of the cruel martyring, whereof the dead bones still gave proofs, was indeed horrible to be looked at; while the raw straps with which they had been tied were still fastened to the bones of several of them; and the sticks and spokes with which they had been beaten, were found by thousands, and in pieces, along the road which they had been dragged. Of those sticks some were those with which they danced, and some were poles whereon they build their houses, or wherewith they plant their fortifications. While other skeletons or dead bones laid there, these were recognised by us by their skulls, which were all broken, and by the heap of stones lying by each of their corpses, wherewith they had received their last sufferings.* O horrible martyrdom!!! The late worthy Mr. Retief we recognised by his clothes, which, although nearly consumed, yet small rags were still attached to his bones, added to which there were other tokens, such as his portmanteau, which was almost also consumed, in which there were several papers, of which some were damaged and rained to pieces; but some were found therein, in as perfect a state as if they had never been exposed to the air; amongst which was also the contract between him and Dingaan, respecting the cession of the land, so clean and uninjured, as if it had been written to day, besides a couple of sheets of clean paper, on one of which the chief Commandant wrote a letter to Mr. J. Boshoff, the following day. Every exertion was used for the gathering of the bones, and we buried them. This having been done, the chief Commandant questioned the Caffer prisoner; and as he pretended to have been but a spectator of this

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martyrdom, being sick at the time, he related the whole circumstance just in the same manner as the appearance of the bones vouched to be correct; but amongst others, that the King, after the treaty had been concluded, had invited Retief and his company to come to his town, that his people might dance in honor of them; and while dancing, he caused them to be attacked, and though the farmers were without their arms, they, however, defended themselves with their pocket knives, in such a manner, that when they had already fought their way through *one* regiment, another had to resume it. One man, says he, of a tall stature, could run very vast, and escaped, after fighting hard, from the town to the other side of the river, which I believe is about 2,500 paces; but by their great numbers, they outran him from all sides, and overtook him before he got as far as where his horses were; he then defended himself with stones, until he could no longer. He further states, that 20 of them had died from severe cuts which they had received by the pocket knives, and several were wounded.

Several articles were also found, which had been buried under ground; and the following day, being the 24th Dec., it was resolved to sell the same by public auction, and to distribute the money arising therefrom among the commando,—which was done. The next day, being the 25th, one of Dingaan's Captains was caught by the Caffer spies, and brought up. He related a great deal, but little reliance could be placed on what he said. However, he related as to what occurred about the martyring of the farmers in the same manner as the former. The next day we broke up the camp, and replaced it on a hill towards the sea side, under which place there are wide and rough clifts, and in these very places the whole Zoola army was assembled. We encamped and secured the camp. The next day about 300 men were ordered to descend. We saw from our camp the Caffers going backwards and forwards. The commando descended, and the chief Commandant went with them, but before they met the Caffers, he was obliged to return on account of the pain of the wound in his hand; for the weather was stormy. The canon which they had taken with them, could not be taken further, and was also sent back. No sooner had the chief Commandant arrived at the camp, when we heard the attack commencing violently, and there was a continuing noise of the firing. I was immediately sent off with some others to the point of the mountain, to spy the battle with a telescope, which I did; and as long as I could see, the firing continued without intermission.

The chief Commandant had, on his leaving them, given the necessary orders to be prudent, but they had, notwithstanding, decended into the clift, and without any precaution been riding amongst the Kafirs in the caves and dens, so that they could neither advance nor retreat, and were obliged to fight their way clear through the Kafirs, by whom they were surrounded as so many ants; and not

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daring to venture to continue fighting, for fear of getting short of ammunition, they retreated until they came to a very bad road, where the river was swollen, when the Caffers had an opportunity of getting amongst them, and they then killed another five of us, named Jan Oosthuysen, formerly of Nieuwveld, Marthinus Gous, of Zwarteberg, Gerrit van Stade, Barend Bester, and Nicolaas le Roux, besides Alexander Biggar, with five of his Caffers.—They returned to the camp as their horses were all knocked up. The Caffers pursued them to the open field, when they returned to the same caves.*

We remained here for two days, to see whether they still would venture to come to the field, which they dared not, and we were necessitated to return on account of the horses. The chief Commandant then caused the town to be further destroyed by fire, and we returned, halting now and then, for the purpose of seeing whether they would not follow us. Having again arrived at the "Omsingatie," two hundred men were sent out, to see whether they could not get any cattle, and they returned with about 5,000 head of cattle, which were herded by 100 Caffers, who were all killed. Thus we returned to the Togala River, where the chief Commandant divided the booty, and the commando separated.

The news of this victory was received, as might be expected, in the Colony with rapture, especially by those who had lost their dearest and nearest relatives in the cold-blooded butcheries of the 6th and 17th of February. The town of Graaff-Reinet was splendidly illuminated, and a new spur given to the migration.

Commandant Pretorious' Despatches of these events here follow :—

King Dingaan's City, called

Umkunglove, Dec. 22, 1838.

Gentlemen,—I send you this to inform you of the particulars of our commando against the Zoolas. After the people had, by general election, chosen me as the Commander-in-chief, we marched out against that formidable foe, not trusting in our own strength in the least, as we could muster no more than 460 men; but we had full confidence in the *justice* of our cause. Our only hope was in God, and the issue has proved that

* On this occasion one of the Zoolahs shewed extraordinary determination. A horse on which he rode, alarmed at the noise of the contest which was raging around him, broke loose, and run in among the farmers with his rider on his back, who then stabbed himself to the heart.

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" Die op den hoogen God vertrouwd,
Heeft zeker op geen sand gebouwd."

[He who places his trust in the great God, will find he has not built on a sandy foundation.]

We marched in five divisions, each under the command of its proper officer. Our object was only to recover the property which the enemy had taken from our people. During the next few days we took prisoners several men of the Zoola nation, to whom I gave a white flag as a proof of our amity, and desired them to proceed to their king, and to inform him that if he would return to us the horses and guns which he had taken from our people, we should be willing to enter into negotiations for peace. I sent this message to him twice, but received no answer. In the mean time our patroles were out in all directions, and on Saturday, the 15th of December, the Zoola army was discovered posted on a very difficult mountain.

On receiving this information, I immediately proceeded there with 200 men, but finding it unadvisable to attempt anything with so small a force, and in such a place, I returned to the camp. The next day, being Sunday, we intended to remain quiet; but as soon as day broke upon us we discovered that our camp was surrounded by, as we thought, the whole of the Zoola forces. The engagement instantly commenced on both sides. The Zoolas *fired* upon us, and made several attempts to storm our encampments, and on being repulsed, they only retreated for short distances. They stood their ground firmly for two hours, and then were reinforced by five more divisions.

At this juncture you will scarcely be able to form an idea of the sight presented around us. It was such as to require some nerve not to betray uneasiness in the countenance. Seeing that it was necessary to display the most desperate determination I caused four gates of our enclosed camp to be simultaneously thrown open, from whence some mounted men were to charge the enemy, at the same time keeping up a heavy fire upon them. The Zoolas stood our assault firmly for some time, but at last finding their number rapidly decreasing, they fled, scattering themselves in all directions. They were pursued on horseback by as many of our men as could be spared from the camp. Having made some necessary arrangements, I started off myself, and shortly overtook a Zoola warrior. At the distance of about 15 yards, I made signs of peace to him, and called to him to surrender, intending to send him with a message to his King; but as he refused to submit and threatened me, I at length fired but missed. My horse being restive, I dismounted and attempted to fire the second time, but the lock of my gun had got out of order. At this instant the Zoola made a furious rush upon me, stabbing at me with his assegai, and which I parried repeatedly with my gun. At last he closed in with me and attempted to stab me through the breast. I averted this by grasping at the

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weapon with my left hand, but in doing so received it through the hand. Before he could extricate it, I seized him and threw him to the ground, but as the Assegai remained pierced through my hand, and which was under him, as I lay upon him, I had but one hand with which to hold him and use my dagger, whilst he attempted to strangle me, At this crisis one of my men came to my assistance, pulled the assagai out of my hand and stabbed the Zoola on the spot, My hand bleeding very much I was obliged to return to the camp, and it was apprehended some of our men had fallen—however it pleased the Almighty to give us this victory without the loss of a single life on our part, only three of us being wounded, viz., myself, Gerrit Raats, and Philip Fourie.

The following day we resumed our march, and arrived here this day. Yesterday, when we were seen to approach, Dingaan set his capital on fire, and his own palace was destroyed by the conflagration.

We learn from two Zoola women, that one Captain who had not been in the engagement wanted to renew the attack, but all the others refused, stating that they had lost nearly all their men. The result was a precipitate retreat.

After the battle I caused returns to be made of the number of the enemy killed, and found it to be 3,000 and some hundreds, but that we may make every allowance for inaccuracies we have stated it at 3,000.

We are now encamped in Dingaan's capital. Here we found the bones of our unfortunate countrymen, Retief and his men and which we interred. They bear the marks of having been cruelly murdered. The sight of them must have moved the most unfeeling heart, and the account which the Zoola prisoners give of the affair, shews that they must have fought desperately, though without any other weapons than their knives, and some sticks which they wrested from the Zoolas. Before they were overpowered they say that 20 Zoolas were killed and several wounded. The Zoolas took nothing from them except their arms and horses. We found among their bones, independent of several other things, Mr. Retief's Portmanteau containing his papers, some of them very much defaced, but his treaty with Dingaan is still legible. The following is a copy thereof:—

COPY OF THE DOCUMENT GRANTED BY DINGAAN TO THE LATE RETIEF.

[ORIGINAL.]

Unkunkinglove, 4th February, 1838.

"Know all men by this,

"That whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch emigrant Farmers, has retaken my cattle which Sinkonyella had stolen from me, which cattle he the said Retief now delivered unto

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me; I, Dingaan, King of the Zoolas, do hereby certify and declare that I though fit to resign unto him, Retief, and his countrymen, the place called PORT NATAL, together with all the Land annexed; that is to say, from the Togela to the Omsovoobo Rivers, Westward, and from the Sea to the North, as far as the Land may be useful and in my possession.

"Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property. Mark ⋈ of King Dingaan.

Witnesses:

M. Oosthuisen,	Moaro x Great Counsellor.
A. C. Greyling,	Juliavius x do.
B. J. Liebenberg,	Manondo x do.

We, the Undersigned, A. W. Pretorius and Carel Pieter Landman, hereby certify and declare, that the foregoing is a literal copy from the original, found among other papers, on the 21st December last, at the residence of Dingaan, in a leathern bag, laying by the bones of the late Retief. We, the joint Subscribers, Hercules Pretorius and P. du Preez, do likewise certify and declare, that we found the document above-mentioned by the bones of the late Retief, and which we knew by pieces of his clothes, the document being among other papers in a leathern shooting bag, and which we delivered to the chief Commandant—Evert Potgieter being also present when we found it. We are ready to verify this, our certificate, if required, on oath.

The 9th January, 1839.

(Signed) A. W. J. Pretorius, Chief Commandant,	H. Pretorius,
C. P. Landman, Commandant.	P. D. du Preez,
	E. T. Potgieter.

Togala River, Jan. 9th, 1839.

Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to communicate to you the continuation of my account touching our late Commando, having now returned to the great camp. My first letter, dated 22nd December last, I still find here, so that you will receive it at the same time with this. We all rejoice and feel grateful to God, and I have no doubt but many of you will participate therein.

Continuing my report, I must state that we removed our little camp from the residence of Dingaan, somewhat nearer to the sea shore, but before leaving it we caught a Zoola, who appeared to us to be one of Dingaan's great captains. He stated that Dingaan had burnt his residence, because his people, who had escaped out of the battle, had dispersed; that he could therefore offer no further resistance, and that he had no other alternative but to keep aloof, and to leave all the cattle between him and us, so that we, when pursuing

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him, might take the cattle and spare his life. I, however, soon perceived that he had no other view but to lead us treacherously into danger. We therefore removed our camp, as we thought, to a secure spot, not far from which the Zoolas, without our knowing it, had concealed themselves in an inaccessible stronghold, scarcely a mile distant from our camp, but where we discovered them the next day. Leaving our camp I marched with about 300 men to the spot, but was obliged, from the roughness of the weather and as my hand was very painful, to return to the camp, where I had scarcely returned when fighting commenced in the mountains and kloofs. Our men were there soon surrounded by the enemy; they did every thing to force their way, when the enemy rushed upon them from all sides, and as they had to climb over large stones and rocks, the fighting lasted 5 hours before they were able to extricate themselves; and being ultimately obliged to descend a steep crag, in order to find an outlet through the river to the field, they got intermingled with the enemy. The fighting was severe, and we are sorry to say that Mr. A. Biggar, from Port Natal, with five of our men, were killed on that occasion.

As soon as they left the place the enemy returned to their hold. As our ammunition was much diminished and our horses mostly knocked up, our men were obliged, without doing anything more, to return to the camp. It was difficult to state how many of the enemy were killed in this rencontre; many are the conjectures. I have therefore only confined myself to the best *ascertained* number of killed, being upwards of 1,000.

We remained three days on that spot, and attempted several times by sending out patrols to inveigle the enemy from their strongholds, but in vain. We then deliberated to renew our attack upon them there; but, finding that our best horses were unfit for further active service, we departed, and retreated very slowly in hopes that the enemy would have the courage to pursue us, and afford us an opportunity again to fight them and to finish this war. But not perceiving them, we remained a few days on the spot, sending out patrols, who found about 5,000 head of cattle; on which occasion they had again to fight 100 Zoolas, most of whom were killed. We further thought proper to take no further pains in the recovery of cattle, as we will be obliged to send another commando to scour the country, when we trust, should it please God, to find them. We arrived here yesterday, and divided the cattle among those most in want of them.

The people in the camp are now as united as can be wished. I intend to return to my family and property at the Zand or Modder Rivers, and to commence our march thence as soon as possible to this place; the wound of my hand is nearly cured.

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I enclose this short outline of our proceedings and assure you that I am, &c. A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Chief Com.

P.S. Major Charters is at Port Natal, with a detachment of Troops; he has taken temporary possession of the bay, with a view to make peace between us and the Zoolas, which we will gladly do, if it can be effected with security to ourselves, and by getting back the cattle not yet recovered. We have sent him copies of some documents relative to the land; we are not acquainted with his instructions, but whatever measures Government may find necessary to adopt, we hope they may not tend to compel us to penetrate farther into the interior. To ask us to return to the colony will be useless.

The goods which we found near Dinguan's residence, have been publicly sold for upwards of 6,000 Rds. Some of our very poor people will, for a time, re-cross the mountain, in order to get game, as the booty captured by us, was not enough to provide them sufficient food, but the others will commence ploughing and gardening.

A. P.

The great victory thus achieved by a handful of men, over a numerous and well constituted power, which was thus shivered into atoms within a few hours, called forth strong and correct reflections from the frontier journals :—

The recent information from the camp of the Emigrant Farmers at Natal, is of great interest and importance to this colony.

It is in vain to attempt to disguise the fact, and *to talk of the return hither of the self-expatriated colonists;* the conviction must flash upon the mind of every one, who will take the trouble to examine circumstances, and to draw rational and impartial conclusions, that the *nucleus* of a settlement is actually formed in the Natal country, which no merely human power can ever subvert. *The British Government may send there as many troops as it pleases, and squander away as much money as it can possibly spare, and yet after all, for the purposes of coercion, all these means and appliances to boot, will be found perfectly impotent* Some of the emigrants may, and we think will return; but there are others who will not. They may be driven from place to place, but then they have an unlimited range of back country; and though it might be possible, and even, for aught we know, quite practicable, to harass and distress them, yet it is not within any means at our command to subdue them. It might be comparatively, an easy task to force them into barbarism, but no physical power can compel their submission. *Even were the advice of the "Aborigines' Protection Society" followed, and the savages of the interior incited and assisted to fall upon them, the inhuman project, though it might*

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saturate the plains of Southern Africa with blood, would utterly fail of accomplishing the end desired. Numbers of the exiles *never will* return, and it now rests with our Government, whether those who do remain shall swear their children—like the youthful Hannibal to the Romans—to cherish eternal enmity towards the British name and Government, or whether, by a wise and humane policy, it will endeavor to make the best of that which cannot be avoided, and, by a mild and conciliatory deportment acquire the friendship of those who, we maintain, have as good a title to the country which they now inhabit, as the colonists have to those estates which have been granted to them by the Colonial Government.

This position may be disputed, but we think not upon any valid grounds: For instance,—this Government has long since recognised DINGAAN as an independent sovereign, exercising absolute power in his own dominions; and hence as such his right, in reason and equity, to cede away any part of his *own* territories, cannot be called in question. This being allowed, then it follows—the record of the fact or instrument being in existence—*that the emigrants have a legal right to the country where they now are; nor is it on any other principle than of "might is right," that an endeavor can be made to eject them from it.*

The treacherous conduct of the Zoola chief, after ceding this country to the emigrants, rather strengthens their right than otherwise. That writing which granted the Natal country to the exiles, has not only been formally subscribed by Dingaan, whilst the service or consideration is distinctly stated, but it has been fearfully ratified by the wanton immolation of some of the bravest hearts that ever beat in South Africa. All the blood which has since flowed has been the consequence of that act of atrocious perfidy—of an exhibition of heartless, cruel murder which has no parrallel in modern history.

With all our predilections for English Government, still we confess that we do not understand the meaning of those who are continually dwelling upon the obligations of the Dutch-African emigrants, as British subjects. We conceive that these obligations are reciprocal, and further, that no British subject is enshackled by a system of villainage. That he is not a serf transferable with and fixed to the soil, but that he has the right of locomotion, and can remove, whilst untainted by any penal offence or responsibility, into any country to which he may desire to proceed, and that may not refuse to receive him.* Depend upon it, that while the British

* Blackstone says—"By the common law every man may go out of the realm for whatever cause he pleaseth, without obtaining the King's leave, provided that he is under no injunction of staying at home; which liberty was expressly declared in King John's great Charter."

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Government act towards the colonists upon principles of justice, tempered with mercy, there will be no fear of any defection among them. The moral power of esteem and confidence will be found stronger, and will bind them together in a more indissoluble girdle, than though it were of adamant; but, on the contrary, any exertion of power, not based upon these, will be as weak and unstable as a rope of sand.

Deeply as we regret the emigration of the farmers, both as respects the immediate consequences of the step to the colony and to themselves; yet we are not among those who look to the *result* with very gloomy forbodings. We, on the contrary, are rather disposed to regard it as affording the strongest hope of future safety. This colony, whatever may be thought at a distance, is fast verging towards a momentous crisis. Should the process which is now going on continue, the country must be completely overrun—and that at no distant period—by a black population. Every day this force is felt to be stronger, and the resistance opposed thereto weaker; it is pressing steadily and surely upon us from the eastward, and if there be anything which can cause a re-action, it will be the firm establishment of a colony of whites in the Natal country. The moral effect of such a settlement will be incalculably great, and especially upon the turbulent tribes which occupy the intermediate country. Of this fact every intelligent person must be convinced by a single glance at the map of South Africa, as well as of the great importance of Natal to this colony, both politically and commercially. The voice of humanity itself calls loudly upon the British Government to take up this measure with a zeal correspondent to its importance. The British Legislature has passed an act for the protection of the natives inhabiting the regions comprised within the limit of the 25th degree of S. latitude, but this act is purely waste paper, unless supported by ulterior measures,—and the most efficient one would be the immediate recognition of Port Natal as a dependency of the British crown. Nor would this step at all disturb any question which may be pending between the emigrants and the Government on the score of allegiance. We think that the Port of Natal, and country *immediately* adjacent, has been since the year 1690, by right of purchase, a dependency of this colony: that, therefore, Dingaan could not justly exercise any claim over it, or cede it to others; that, in short, His Excellency the Governor's proclamation, declaring he would *seize* that territory, amounted to nothing more, in fact, than asserting that he had determined to take possession, in the name of this Government, of that which was its own.

Happy would it have been for the Aborigines of the country, had this right not have been suffered to lie dormant. What, we ask, has become of the tribes, which once occupied the fertile coun-

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try where the emigrants now are? Where are all those thousands of inhabitants which once dwelt in the "fenced cities," visited only 20 years ago by the missionary Campbell? All, all are swept away, as by "the besom of destruction!" The country has reverted to an unproductive wilderness—its former populousness is only known as matter of history, or inferred, from the signs of former cultivation, and especially from the human bones which lie so profusely scattered over the whole surface of the land.

Since the Cape has been a British possession not less than 1,000,000 human beings around have perished by their own intestine feuds. They have melted away—not as the consequence of European intercourse, agreeably to the favorite theory—but as the result of the baneful effects of savage life upon the human species. And what have we done to ameliorate this state of things? We answer—nothing. We have looked on with criminal apathy, and while death stalked through the land, we have been indulging ourselves in copious libations of moonshine,—dreaming of unsophisticated nature, or discoursing most sentimentally of the virtues and amiabilities of savage life!

And even now, at the eleventh hour, there are those who would still sit idle, or if they move at all, it is with a design rather to increase the evil, than to mitigate it. They act upon the principle of the dog in the manger,—they will neither move themselves, nor will they suffer others to do that which they are determined to leave undone.

Major Charters' expedition arrived at Port Natal on the 3d December, and was hailed by the inhabitants, *Dutch* and English, with the greatest pleasure, who gave every assistance in their power to the 72d Regt. as they landed, and received them with the utmost kindness,—a disposition which cannot be attributed to the then impending danger, as that feeling was maintained during the whole time the troops remained at the Port, and long after the safety of the settlers had been ensured by the annihilation of Dingaan. What a remarkable contrast is thus exhibited between the reception of this party and that of Capt. Smith, in 1842, and how much it make us regret that the good disposition then existing had not been judiciously taken advantage of, to produce a permanent conciliation between the British Government and its expatriated subjects!

The arrival of the expedition was duly notified to the Cape Public:—

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GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

The expedition to Port Natal, under the command of Major CHARTERS, arrived off that Port on the 3d instant, and the troops landed immediately, occupying a position of defence inside the Harbour. There were but few of the Emigrant Farmers at that place, or in the neighborhood,—a Commando having gone forth against the Zoolo Chief on the 26th of November.

The Emigrants who remained in their Camps are in good health, —having abundance of animal food, but almost entirely without any other nourishment. A quantity of rice and some other articles of supply had been landed for their use.

The detachment of troops was in excellent health, and no accident had occurred in their landing.

Communications had been made to the Emigrants on Commando, and to the neighboring Amaponda Chief, but no answer to either had been received up to the 16th instant, when H.M.S. *Leveret*, by which this intelligence was received, left Port Natal.

Colonial Office, 28th December, 1838.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

A.D. 1839.

The Colonial Government now placed before the Cape Public a statement of affairs of the *assumed* dependency, through the regular official channel, and an entirely new spirit breathes through the whole of that important document. It admits the hitherto doubted successes of the Boers; somewhat erroneously estimates the capabilities of the country for the raising of vegetable food, and the means of the Boers maintaining themselves there; but corrects the misrepresentation of a former State Paper, in which the extreme destitution of the settlers was reported, and it pledges the Government to *permit* them the *means of self-defence*, and the *importation of food* and other necessaries from the Colony, when they were neither at war with the Colony nor any of its allies, but as free to emigrate as the first settlers to New Zealand:—

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

The schooner *Mary* has brought intelligence from Port Natal up to the 7th instant.

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The Boer's Commando, which went against Dingaan on the 20th of November, had returned; but no authentic account of its proceedings had been received. Major Charters' letter to Pretorius, who commanded the expedition,—endeavoring to dissuade him from the commission of hostilities,—had been intercepted by certain persons, calling themselves the General Council, at the Camp on the Togala, and was not by them transmitted, nor suffered to be transmitted to its destination.

It is stated that the Camp of the Commando was attacked on the 16th of December, by a force of 10,000 Zoolus, 200 being armed with muskets, that the attack was repulsed with the *(improbable)* loss to the Zoolus of 3,000 men, whilst the Commando had only three slightly wounded; that Dingaan retreated in consequence, after burning Umkunkinglove, his principal residence, to which place the Boers having advanced, they found there, and buried, the remains of their comrades who were massacred with Retief;—that after some days, a strong patrol was sent out, which, on the 23d, having got entangled in difficult ground, was suddenly attacked by the Zoolus, who had up to the moment remained unobserved; and that the patrol retired with the loss of six of the Boers, and from 20 to 30 of a party from Port Natal, of whom an Englishman named Biggar was one.

Whatever may be the truth, it is at least certain that the retreat of the Commando was the result of the affair of the 23d; and that one of the chief objects of the Commando, viz. the recapture of cattle, was not effected; for a few horses, and 25 muskets, seem to have been the only spoils.

A second and stronger Commando was spoken of, but as there appear to be differences of opinion among the Emigrants, it is to be hoped that the attempt will not be made. It has been announced to them that if they persist in these attacks, they will be deprived of all supplies by sea; *but should they, on the contrary, content themselves with the quiet occupation of the country where they now are, not only will food and other necessaries be permitted to reach them* BUT THEY WILL BE ALLOWED SUCH MEANS OF SELF-DEFENCE, AGAINST ATTACK, AS MAY BE REQUISITE.

The country is reported to be unfavorable for raising grain—wheat in particular. *There is no want of animal food, and Millet, or Indian Corn;* but flour, rice, &c., are very scarce. Unfortunately the supply of rice, in the Helen, could not be all got ashore, on account of the state of the weather. Part of what was landed got damaged, and became useless; the remainder was readily sold at high prices, by the importer.

Some of the emigrants express the most ardent desire to get back to the colony on any terms,—as they entertain gloomy forebodings

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of what must be the eventual state of a community, "where all is out-going, and nothing coming in."

It is impossible to contemplate what may be the final result of this emigration, without feelings of sincere commiseration for those who have so unadvisedly placed themselves in a situation of suffering and danger, with apparently but *very slender hopes of being able to maintain themselves* to any beneficial purpose in their present possessions; but, in the mean time, every assistance in the power of the Government will be readily afforded to such of them as desire to return by sea,—for by land they seem cut off from return, for want of means; and the distresses of those who remain will be alleviated, in as far as the declared object of the military possession of the port and its shores, will admit.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 28th Jan., 1839,
By command of His Excellency the Governor,
(Signed) JOHN BELL,
Secretary to Government.

In the month of February of this year, Mr. Boshoff, the gentleman already alluded to, conceiving that the Colonial Government were acting under a considerable degree of ignorance as to the real state of affairs at Natal—the causes of the emigration, and of the feelings and objects of the expatriated Farmers—and apprehensive that they would continue in a blind course should they be not rightly instructed, prepared the following statement, which he transmitted to a gentleman in Graham's Town, by whom it was despatched to the Government at the metropolis:—

Graaff-Reinet, 17th February, 1839.

Sir,—In compliance with my promise made to you last week, I now take the liberty to acquaint you with the causes of emigration of our farmers from the colony, in so far as the same have come under my observation, during my intercourse with them, as well in the colony as at Natal. Much has been said and written on the subject, but *it appears to me that the whole truth has never yet appeared before the public, and that His Excellency the Governor himself, during his late stay in the Eastern Province has not been able to get full information thereon, undoubtedly owing to the reception the deputation of the Port Elizabeth people met with, which deterred others from venturing to see his excellency on subjects on which he seemed to have already formed his opinion, or which might perhaps subject them to similar treatment.*

In making this communication I only regret that my defective

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knowledge of the English language necessarily obliges me to be as brief as possible. I trust, however, that should, from your own experience and judgment, the following statement appear to you to be deserving of some consideration you will make such use thereof as may tend to the welfare of this colony, or perhaps to enlighten the Government upon some points which may not yet have been made sufficiently clear to them ; though I must own that I do not feel myself under any obligation to our present Governor for having treated me in exactly the same manner, as the Colonists in general (that is the whites) have long since been dealt with—that is, condemned, degraded or punished, in their absence, and before they had an opportunity of saying a single word in their defence.

It is an erroneous idea that all the emigrants have been moved by the same reasons to quit the colony, as owing to the great distances between the residences of many of them in the colony, and the different local circumstances in which they found themselves placed, each formed his resolution in consequence of such grievances, which he found more immediately pressing upon him. I am confident, however, that the causes hereunder enumerated have, on the whole, worked together to cause the emigration to the extent to which it is now generally known to have taken place.

No one, I believe, pretends to be ignorant of the fact, that the first migration took place in consequence of want of pasturage for the cattle and flocks of the frontier farmers, it being well known that for a long period our frontier farmers were in the habit, during seasons of heavy drought, to go over the boundaries of the colony in search of grass, not to loose all they possessed in the world. The more the colony became occupied and stock increased, the more frequent was the necessity of these migrations towards the interior, where extensive, unoccupied, and superior pasture lands were to be found, that a few months residence there caused a considerable improvement in the condition of their cattle and sheep, and such an incredible increase in their numbers that the farms within the colony from time to time became less capable of supporting the stock of their proprietors, independent of such as had no lands of their own. In addition thereto the seasons for the last 8 or 10 years became gradually worse and worse ; springs and large pools dried up everywhere, so that the farmers, in many instances, were compelled to migrate for want of water, where pasturage was still to be had. These migrations at last became with many such an absolute necessity, that they had to cross and recross the Orange River more than once a-year, which, in some instances, was attended with such severe losses to them, particularly in sheep being drowned, that not a few resolved upon remaining on the other side, at first chiefly consisting of those who possessed no farms within the colony, and having in

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their expeditions fitted out to hunt, or from curiosity explored the interior to a great distance, these parties gave such flattering accounts of the beauty and fruitfulness of the lands they had seen, and which were totally waste and unoccupied, that several, as well out of the colony as within the same, began to feel a desire to migrate towards these lands, in the hope of prospering there better than in the colony, or near the boundaries where they were not seldom annoyed by the Griqua Bastards, who had been settled there by Dr. Philip.

Some families, viz.; of Liebenberg, Potgieter, Tregard, and others, were the first to venture far into the interior. Mr. Maritz, of this town, a man of some property, actuated by some of the above reasons, and perhaps too by ambitious motives, soon made up another party; and other causes, such as dissatisfaction with, and distrust of the Government, &c., having in the mean time begun to operate, and the people seeing a door opened for them to fly from further vexation and oppression, the number of emigrants daily increased; yet I believe they would have failed in their object, had not the unfortunate correspondence between Lt.-Governor Stockenstrom and Retief taken place, which caused the latter to resolve upon a similar step. Many indeed, who were doubtful before, now began to make active preparations for their departure, and had the government even by this time taken some steps, from which it might have appeared that it was willing to secure to the people protection against all robbers and thieves, or in some mearuse alleviate their sufferings, a change would still have been brought about, since many of the ruined or half-ruined farmers were yet anxiously looking forward upon Stockenstrom's promises, for an entire change of measures, and entertained some hopes of compensation for their losses by the Kafir invasion. But Lord Glenelg's despatch to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and the Lieut.-Governor's treaties with the Kafirs, removed the last spark of confidence which yet remained in the government. Uys and his party now quitted, and since that time all the disasters which have befallen the emigrants, together with the threats of the Governor, have not been able to put a stop to emigration, which is still going on, and not likely to cease for a long while yet.

The various grievances which I know to have caused the majority ot the emigrants to quit, may be classed under the following main causes:—

I.—Distrust in the Colonial, but more particularly the Home Government. And under this head may be enumerated,—

1. The reduction of the value of Colonial Currency; and though this has not been felt by the farmers, yet the impression remained that Government, acting faithlessly in an arbitrary manner, seized upon part of our private property, which, in justice, ought not to have been done.

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2. The emancipation of the slàves, or rather the manner in which it has been effected.

There did exist, indeed, at first, an objection against emancipation itself, because the people could not see how this measure would be accomplished without serious losses to the slave proprietors, and injury to the colony at large, but when it was announced that the British Parliament, when passing the emancipation act, had at the same time pledged themselves to make full compensation to the owners of slaves in cash, they were struck with the magnanimity and generosity of that government, which had actually surprised them with an act of justice so unexpectedly, and if any doubts still remained the measures which were then adopted removed them. Appraisers were appointed to visit every farm or house, and to value the slaves individually—this certainly could have no other meaning than that every slave proprietor should receive compensation in fact, and not in name, and so satisfied were they, that had two thirds of the appraised value been paid to them by the Government here, never a word would have been heard against the act of emancipation—but the colonists soon began to see that they were mistaken. The amount awarded to each proprietor was not in consideration of the individual value of his slaves, but indiscriminately according to certain general classifications, without regard to age, defects, inferior or superior qualification of the slaves, in consequence of which in some few instances, more than the amount of the appraisement was awarded, whilst the greater part of slave owners saw themselves declared entitled to no more than ⅓ and ¼ part of the real value of their slaves; add to this the vexatious and expensive method of receiving the sums due to them from England, and the deduction of from 15 to 25 per cent. by the merchants, who purchased their claims, the most interested of whom were appointed assistant commissioners. The people considered themselves defrauded, and robbed of their lawful property, and openly accused the government and the parliament of having done so.

At the time the emancipation act was promulgated in the colony, the Acting-Lieut.-Governor announced to the public that Government would immediately, or in sufficient time make the necessary provisions to secure order and protect the people against vagrancy, &c., the effects of which was then already much complained of, as caused by Hottentots. The successor of Col. Wade, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, actually brought the question before the council, supported by memorials from the people throughout the colony—the ordinance passed—but to the astonishment of all who saw the necessity of such a law, the Governor, upon the representation of Dr. Philip, had turned round upon the measure, and it was rejected in England—showing that we were not to be protected against vagrancy, the greatest encouragement to all more serious crimes.

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3. From the several laws forced upon the colony from time to time, chiefly upon slave owners, some of which were actually so vexatious that they in a body refused obedience to some of their provisions, the colonists clearly saw that the Government in England acted either upon gross misrepresentation, or intentionally to oppress the white inhabitants, as every new law or ordinance in which the black population was concerned, betrayed the most tender and paternal care for them, and a disregard of the interest of the whites. Some of the magistrates, or perhaps a single one in the colony, ventured slightly to punish vagrancy, but the others actually refused to do so. Property became more and more unsafe—murders increased—the peaceable farmers on the frontiers found themselves robbed by Caffers, Bushmen, Corannas, &c., and were not allowed, even under the orders of the Field-cornet, to pursue the thieves over the boundaries, or there to re-capture their cattle—the use of fire-arms was declared unlawful except in the most undoubted cases of self-defence. The Attorney-General himself only recommended a hue and cry as the only lawful method of expelling thieves and vagrants, and it became doubtful at last in how far one would be justified to use his arms in self-defence, so as to prevent his being put upon trial for his life. Not a few farmers were indicted and tried for murder, where they had shot some natives either in the protection of their lawful property or in self-defence.

4. To this was also ascribed the inattention shown by the Government to the complaints against thefts committed on the frontiers, and the inefficiency of the military force to protect the frontiers, and that, therefore, Government found itself unprepared and taken by surprise at the Kafir invasion of 1834. But when this took place it was believed that *now* the eyes of the Government here, as well as in England, would certainly be opened, the sufferings of the people had now reached the extreme point of all human patience or forbearance; but Sir Benjamin D'Urban's conduct reanimated them and inspired them with hopes of at least a better protection in future, whilst they were at the same time made to believe that they would receive compensation for their losses. Again, however, they found their confidence ill-placed, for what was now wanting to confirm the suspicions which they had long entertained, that the total ruin or annihilation of the white population in the colony would be looked upon with indifference. When the despatch of Lord Glenelg to Sir Benjamin was made public, in which the colonists saw the cause of the Kafirs pleaded in the most erroneous and false assertions, and themselves accused of having, as it were, deserved their sufferings, by provoking the Kafirs to take such a step, which was only a just retaliation—the eyes of the people were then opened, and they at once concluded that to live or exist longer in this colony under such *paternal* care and protection would be an utter impossibility, since Lord Glenelg

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himself actually praised the Kafirs for what they had attempted, and consequently encouraged them to try another chance as soon as a fit opportunity should offer. Bitter were the complaints of many of the emigrants at Natal on this head, and some of them expressed themselves to me in the following manner :—" What confidence could we longer have in such a government, our consciences acquitted us of the charges laid against us by Lord Glenelg. The commandoes which we were ordered out by Government for the protection of this country—upon pain of fine, or imprisonment—at our own expense, not to mention bodily sufferings from cold, rain, hunger, fatigue, as also losses there and at home in our absence, were put to our account as our own voluntary acts, with the view of enriching ourselves by Kafir cattle and territory. Even in the last Kafir war we were not allowed to protect our small remnant of property which the invaders had left us, but under promises of full compensation we were ordered, destitute as we were, again to march out in the defence of our territory, and to re capture what had been taken from us, we complied with this sacred duty (as we thought), took our last horses, left our families and remaining property unprotected behind; several then lost what had yet been left them, and the result was that what was recovered from the Kafirs—of our own property which we identified and could swear to—was laid hold of by Government, and disposed of we know not how—peace was made—the Kafirs agreed to give up an immense number of cattle, horses, guns, &c.. taken from the colony—they never complied, and we, the sufferers, remained destitute, impoverished, neglected, and at the end we were calumniated and insulted. What human feeling can stand this, and why are we blamed for leaving a country where such a Government existed ?"

5. The withholding of the grants of land which had been many years measured, and the expences of survey paid for, caused, indeed, suspicion of some other design, prejudicial to their interest. Many inconveniences were also caused thereby, as estates remained unsettled, and as no transfers could be made or obtained of such grants as were sold—but to my knowledge I have never heard this alleged as a reason for quitting the colony. I am aware, however, that the high rents fixed upon some of the grants which were at last issued, were the cause of the proprietors disposing of their farms at very low prices, and they have quitted. At this moment the " Uitvlugt" farmers are anxiously looking out for the long promised reduction of rent on their places, and some of them express an intention to quit should this ultimately be refused.

II.—As a second main cause assigned by several who have quitted the colony, and of many who still speak of intending to do so, I can confidently assert, the insecurity of life and property, owing to the prospect that the colony will be more and more infested by rob-

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bers and vagabonds, and that in the event of another Kafir invasion, the defence of the colony must entirely depend upon the military.

These conclusions they have come to for the following reasons :—

1. Very few farmers, if any, have at present, as formerly, servants to whom they can entrust any part of their property in their absence, and the frequent changes of such servants, in consequence of which their characters are seldom thoroughly known, makes it dangerous for the farmer to leave his place and family for any length of time in time of peace, and much more so in time of war.

2 The facility with which vagrants can roam about the country unmolested, and provide themselves with what they can easily subsist upon, the difficulty of apprehending or of convicting thieves, unless they are taken in the act or found in possession of stolen property, causes nine out of ten to escape the hands of justice, by which the farmers sustain losses of which government can have no idea, because it does not take the trouble to ascertain. The quarterly returns might be easily obtained from the field-cornets, to whom the inhabitants of their wards would gladly report such cases, under a promise of confirming their statements by oath if required. Should such returns be furnished to Government, of cattle, sheep, and horses which have been stolen, where the thieves could not be detected, the circumstances fully favored the theft, also where the robbers were known but could not be apprehended—of houses broken open and goods stolen therefrom, and of the number of sheep, &c. lost through the negligence of the herdsmen, from whom the owners can get no compensation—it would then be found to be a matter of utter astonishment that the farmers bear such losses from time to time with so much patience.

3. That the punishment inflicted upon offenders of the above description, are by no means calculated to deter them or others from the commission of crime, as a few months imprisonment in a jail, where they are kept as comfortable as they could wish, that is in company of each other, without employment, and furnished with clothing, bedding, and provisions, by far better than they were accustomed to when wandering about in the field; or that even the hard, or rather easy labour, to which most of them are kept after conviction, can have any good effect upon such miserable wretches, since the shame of public whipping is to them no degradation, and the punishment forgotton as soon as the effect of the stripes are no more felt. Crime is, therefore, on the increase, though convictions may be less in number, and with the emancipation of the slaves it is apprehended the evil will grow worse—appearances already begin to justify such apprehensions, and the farmers are too often, from want of servants or other assistance, and owing to the difficulty of detecting thieves, compelled to abstain from pursuing them, although his last ox or cow may have been stolen.

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III.—Another reason assigned by the emigrants is, that in the Colony they have no control over their servants, that is, no authority whatever to make them attend to their work. To turn them away would often be depriving themselves of the only herdsman on the farm, whilst they cannot themselves herd their flocks without neglecting their other farming pursuits, besides those who may be obtained in their stead are sometimes worse than those discharged. To complain to a Field-cornet is useless;—he cannot interfere or exercise any authority in such matters. To complain to the Magistrate is such a vexatious proceeding that the farmer finds it more profitable to rest satisfied with the loss of 10, 12, or 20 sheep, though he should, moreover, be abused by the herdsman upon being upbraided for his negligence, than to take him before a Magistrate at a distance of from 20 to 80 miles, attended by witnesses, and after all have to employ an agent or attorney to conduct his case, he not being himself acquainted with the rules of court, or capable of examining his witnesses according to legal practice, and perhaps have to provide himself with an interpreter, the courts being English and not bound to understand him;—and having complied with all these rules, what is the punishment inflicted upon his servant?—two or three days commitment to the jail, perhaps on spare diet—or otherwise a lecture from the Magistrate to behave better in future. Now what is the natural result?—The farmer next time takes the law into his own hands—gives his servant a blow in the face, or a few lashes with a sambok—a complaint is lodged against him, and now look at the difference of the legal proceedings. Her Majesty's prosecutor interferes—the defendent and witnesses, perhaps all the people from the place, are summoned at the public expense—the assault is proved, and whatever the provocation may have been the law has been transgressed, and the offender is fined or imprisoned. He returns home, finds himself minus a considerable number of sheep or cattle, lost in his absence—his servants sulkier than before—he either gives up farming or quits the Colony.

There are a few other reasons of minor importance sometimes given, but I have upon inquiry invariably found that they have not alone sufficiently influenced any one to quit,—as for instance—

1. An idea that it is the object of government to encourage intermarriages of whites and blacks.

2. That the blacks are encouraged to consider themselves upon an equal footing with the whites in their religious exercises in church—though the former are heathens and no members of such church or community, because they have already been married by the minister of the reformed congregations in church, at the same time with members of that congregation, and by the same forms, thereby showing a disrepect for the religious institutions of the people.

Finally—I am not ignorant of the fact, that when a person of in-

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fluence or extensive family connections quits the Colony not a few may be found to follow him, though otherwise they would still have hesitated for a time.

I have thus endeavored shortly to point out to you the real causes of emigration, only in so fai as they have come under my notice. If I had any influence with the Government I would advise them, even at the eleventh hour, to take some decisive steps, towards restoring if possible its long lost confidence with the people. Thus, further, emigration would not continue to such an extent as to be injurious to the Colony; but on the other hand, should Government continue to show all partiality to the blacks, by listening to private or missionary self-interested representations, or decline to take the most active and vigorous measures towards supppressing vagrancy and crime, the Colonists will desert its jurisdiction whatever may be the obstacles and difficulties. The Zoolahs, once subdued, they will find themselves safe, at least for a considerable time, and the only difficulty which existed against emigration being thus removed, hundreds, who have yet tarried behind, will join their countrymen. One unwise or unjust step of the Government towards them will drive them all into the heart of Africa, and despair may convert them from being most sincere and useful friends, if not protectors of the Colony, to the most dangerous and powerful enemies it has ever had to contend with.

I was in expectation that Mr. Joubert's mission to the emigrants at Natal, would tend in a great measure to effect a reconciliation; and I hear that, on his return towards the Colony, he was in hopes that the people would return to their allegiance and obedience to the Colonial Government, though not to the Colony; but as soon as he heard of the measures adopted by Government during his absence he found his good expections vanish; and, indeed, these measures can have no other effect than to re-open all old wounds, and to confirm them in all the suspicions they formerly had against the Government. I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. BOSHOF.

Busy as folly and falsehood had been with respect to the emigrant farmers, they seem to have been able to extricate themselves from the labyrinth in which it was thought—the thought being father to the wish—that they had involved themselves. At one time they were represented as perishing by the bitter pangs of hunger—then they were "completely surrounded by 80,000 *infuriated* Zoolahs"—anon, they were "flying like *striken deer* for their very lives," and then sup-

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plicating, with uplifted hands and cheeks furrowed by tears and blanched by terror, for assistance to return to the Colony. On the contrary, however, the Natal settlers now sent grain to the Colony, and concluded a treaty of peace with the humbled Despot Dingaan.

The following communications keep up the narrative of events:—

Port Natal, March 21, 1839.

Dear Sir,—I enclose herewith copy of a letter addressed to Capt. Jervis, the Military Commandant here, from which you will perceive that we have requested the restitution of the gunpowder of which posssssion had been taken. The reply was a refusal, under the plea that it could not be done without the knowledge of His Excellency the Colonial Governor. *Although we are abundantly supplied with gunpowder, we notwithstanding view it as a hardship to see such power exercised over our property which we had bought and paid for.* I for my own part, know that my authority will be insufficient entirely to appease the present excitement; I shall, however, try every thing for the exercise of patience, as we have already done to the present time.

On my arrival here I found all in peace and quietness. The emigrants journeying hither, whom I met on the road, I cannot estimate at less than 2,000 men, capable of bearing arms, all joyful, satisfied and cheerful,—all anxious to give the last death-blow to the now humbled blood-hound, and which he certainly shall not escape.

A few weeks ago seven Zoolas came to the military camp here, it is said peace-makers; but not a single Emigrant was permitted to be present at the meeting, so that we are ignorant of the arrangements which may have been made. These peace-makers did not return, which caused more or less anxiety, knowing that when Dingaan makes propositions of peace his murderous intentions are at their height. But the restored union, and newly formed relations, places us more than ever in a situation to thwart his barbarous intentions. It is also a great satifaction to me to be able to state, that the commandant Potgieter, who had left, has again united himself to us, with all his people.

I have also to inform you that a beautiful Salt pan has been discovered on this side the Vaal River, where the Emigrants have gathered upwards of 300 muids of superior salt. Our garden-fruits, melies, beans, pumpkins, potatoes, &c., are abundant, and are daily brought to barter by the peaceful Kafirs; who, for their own protection, have come nearer and nearer to us. It was worthy of note to witness their joy at the last defeat of Dingaan; even Marok-

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ko, Sinkajala, and other chiefs complimented me on my route in the most hearty manner on my last conquest over their own, as well as our common enemy.

We have at present two vessels in the bay, both from Mr. J. O. Smith, of Port Elizabeth; but I am sorry to say that the price of provisions has been placed at so high a rate, that none of the poorer emigrants can buy any thing; viz:—Meal, Rds. 60; Coffee, Rds. 100; and so on in proportion. We must consequently teach our children to eat mealies, pumpkins, and good meat; and no more habituate them to such luxuries as they have now been taught to do without, whereby they will remain healthy, strong, and robust.

A large, pleasant, and well-watered town, Pieter Mauritz Berg,* begins daily to raise its head above the surrounding hillocks; 300 beautiful erven have already been given out, surveyed, and partly planted. This town is situated on the lower part of "Stinkhout Berg," distant about 50 miles from the bay; has a picturesque site, and combines all the advantages of nature as well as of local situation, making so fine a prospect that I know of nothing similar to it in the colony. The growth of plants is so rapid, that melies (Indian Corn) as well as pumpkins can be harvested in abundance throughout the year, and I have no doubt but all garden seeds will thrive equally well here; so that, although our wheat-harvest has failed, and much loss has been sustained in cattle and horses by death, along the sea-coast in the vicinity of the bay, we can nevertheless not too much adore the omnipotent arm of a merciful God, for what has been left to us, which is at present in the best condition. The cattle, particularly those coming from the Oliphant's Hoek and other places along the coast, thrive better here than those coming from Graaff-Reinet, and other inland places.

Yours, &c.,

A. W. J. Pretorius,
Chief Commandant.

Port Natal, March 28, 1839.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Pretorius having hastily departed from hence, has requested me to inform you that the peace makers mentioned in the enclosed letter, returned on Friday last, being three of Dingaan's principal chiefs and councillors, and his favorite body-servant —charged by Dingaan to conclude a permanent peace with the emigrants. With this object a conference took place this morning in an open grass plain above and near the bay, at which the beforementioned chiefs declared that they had the most unequivocal intention, added to the fervent wish of their king,—and were more-

*Named in honor of *Pieter* Retief, and Commandant *Mauritz*.

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over fully empowered to conclude a permanent peace; "For," said they, "our king has now become like a child; alarmed and driven by the emigrants from his capital—which was always viewed by us as impregnable;—he is living as a fugitive in caves and inaccessible rocks; acknowledges the emigrants as conquerors, and as such expects to receive from them the conditions they may think proper to exact; having, as an earnest of the purity of their intentions, brought with them *three hundred and sixteen horses*, belonging to the emigrants, and which were then in the vicinity of the place, near the river Umgani; while the oxen, cattle, sheep, ammunition, &c., would be brought to such place as the Commandant Pretorius should point out." This meeting was conducted with the utmost decorum,—silence and attention reigned throughout. The foreign ambassadors, of whom the first in particular had an interesting appearance, excited an interest and feeling in all they said. The peculiarity, adroitness, and aptness of their answers to the many questions put to them, were astonishing; but as the shortness of time—(the *Mazéppa* and *Mary* being both engaged in lifting their anchors)—will not permit me to say much, I shall only, as an example, give you a few specimens:—

Being asked by the Chief Commandant if it really was the unequivocal wish of their king to conclude a permanent peace with the emigrants, one of them answered—"Yes, we know that we have been conquered; and that in future we are entirely dependent on your good will. The king has directed us to assure you, that henceforth the shields and assegais will no more be found in the hands of the Zoolas, but will hang to perish and rot in their dwellings."

To the question of what had given rise to the murder of the innocent Retief and his brave companions, the first chief answered with a deep sigh,—"I have no directions from my king, neither am I prepared to answer this melancholy question. I came here for more joyous purposes, viz.—to make peace; and will, therefore, not overshadow these happy moments with the clouds which hang over the deplorable occurrences that are past, and to which we attribute all our subsequent disasters, particularly our last humbling in the taking of our capital."

It is worthy of remark, at this place, that when Dingaan sent down his chiefs to make peace, the Boers refused to treat with them except in the presence of the British Officer, Capt. Jarvis, but sent them to him—thus, in a measure, acknowledging the supremacy of the Government.

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Extract of a Letter dated Congella, Port Natal, March 27, 1839.

Very little has occurred here since the commando worthy of note before yesterday, when peace (thank God !) was concluded with Dingaan, *by the interference of Captain Jervis*, (here let me pay that tribute to this officer he so justly merits; his post has been an unpleasant one, but he has acted in the most impartial, honorable, and just manner; alleviating, so far as his duty would permit, the wants and sufferings of the boers) who, when told by the farmers that they wished to make peace with Dingaan, but could get no men to go to him, applied to Ogle, and he (Ogle) sent a Kafir to communicate with Dingaan. The issue was, that Dingaan sent down two messengers to ask what the boers wanted with him. A message was then sent, saying they wished for peace; and on Friday last he sent down two of his principal Captains, with 316 horses he had stolen from the farmers, to conclude peace. Yesterday Pretorius came down to Port Natal with 30 men, and, *in the presence of Capt Jervis*—who as usual behaved in the same honorable, straightforward, and candid manner—agreed to conclude peace with Dingaan, on condition that he (Dingaan) repaid the cattle, sheep, horses, guns, &c., he had taken from the Boers. This the Zoola ambassadors agreed to, and departed, promising in as short time as possible to bring down the cattle, &c.

" Pretorius and his party are now over the Drakenberg, and on the Togala River, the same place where Maritz's leger (camp) stood, they having moved over to the Bushman's Rant, where they are now forming a town; it is about one day's ride from Natal. Hans de Lange is three hours nearer to Natal, on the Umlas River; and Jan Plessies, formerly of the Tarka district, still nearer to Natal. Uys and Landman still occupy the same situations. The differences among the emigrants, as the latter increase in number, are giving way, and I doubt not prosperous days are still in store for them. I am delighted to say that the arrival of Dr. Adams gave great pleasure to them, and I trust that he and his brethren may prove a blessing to them.

" The emigrants have agreed with the Captain of the *Mazeppa*, (Capt. Tait,) to return immediately to Port Natal, and from thence to sail to Delagoa, to bring away Triechard and family."

Upon the events narrated above, the general opinion as to the course to be steered by the Colonial Government with regard to the Farmers, was thus well embodied in the Frontier " Journal :"—

The only remark we have now to offer is, in reference to the course which may be pursued by the British Government. To at-

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tempt any system of coercion would be as rational as it would be, were an endeavor to be made to subjugate the wild Arabs of the desert. But by a mild and discreet policy, this emigration may be made the greatest blessing which has ever yet been experienced in this section of South Africa. Allow the emigrants a due share in the administration of *their own affairs*, and we think that the influential part of their community will not object to the country being considered and held as a British province, and themselves as subjects of the British crown. *Refuse this concession, and the result may be most disastrous.* We may lose all those commercial advantages which are now presented to us, and *may convert into implacable enemies those who may now* be included in a bond of the warmest alliance.

It will be soon seen that this advice only anticipated the suggestion of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1841. The result of the refusal or rather the neglect with which both were treated, is to be found in the present state of affairs from the Orange River to Natal itself.

The importance of occupying Natal as a Settlement, continued to be urged on the British Government, but, unfortunately for the cause of humanity and *economy also*, (for had it been entertained, hundreds of lives, and thousands of pounds would have been spared), without success. On the 27th of March, Mr. Ward presented the following Petition to the House of Commons :—

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition of the undersigned Merchants, and others, interested in the Prosperity and Civilization of Southern Africa,

Humbly Sheweth,—That many of your petitioners have had much experience in the colonization of Southern Africa, and that all of them take a warm interest in the various settlements, and in the happiness and civilization of the native tribes.

And petitioners, while they lament the difficulties and misfortunes which have too often impeded the progress of the settlements already established, especially the frequent sanguinary conflicts with the natives, submit, that such are attributable to the want of a proper system of Colonial Government, and not to an impossibility of conciliating the interests of the white and colored races.

And petitioners therefore submit to your honorable House, that

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it is advisable to found, in Southern Africa, a new Colony, by which not only the interests of settlers, and of Great Britain, will be honorably promoted, but also those of the natives secured, and their civilization advanced: and your petitioners show, that the country in which such a Colony can be established is Port Natal, in South Eastern Africa, containing more than 15,000,000 acres of land, nearly depopulated by native conquerors, almost unoccupied, and well known to be healthy and fertile, both in the interior and coastwise. It lies between the latitudes of 29° of and 31° 30' south, and longitude 27° 30', and 31° 30' east, beginning at the Umzimvoobo (Ivory), or St. John's River, and extending about 300 miles along the coast, to the Tugala, about 70 miles to the north east of Port Natal, and running inland between 60 and 100 miles, to the Quathlamba Mountains.

Your petitioners possess the means of proving, by witnesses, who have visited the country in question, all the allegations contained in this petition; showing that. among the advantages which may be secured by founding a Colony at Natal, are the following:— Advancing the security of the Cape of Good Hope, by promoting the civilization of the native tribes; affording a powerful aid towards abolishing the East African slave trade, by the introduction of legitimate commerce in its place; extension of religious missions; and protection for the interior trade.

Your petitioners are also able to prove, to the satisfaction of your honorable House, that the few natives dispersed within, and the populous tribes beyond the borders of the proposed Colony, have long evinced themselves anxious to have a British Colony established at Natal, and to hold friendly intercourse with white people; that large grants of the above mentioned territory have been already made by the native chiefs to British subjects in the course of the last fourteen years; that during that period a number of English settlers have resided there, generally in safety, until the late unhappy events, which, from the great respect always manifested by the present Zoola chief and his predecessor to legitimate British authority, could not have occurred had a British Colony been established there on a sound system.

Your petitioners also submit that, as a considerable number of other British subjects, Cape Dutch farmers, with their families and property, have lately emigrated to Natal, by the *adoption of wise measures they will become valuable members of the new Colony, and greatly promote its interests.*

It will not be unknown to many members of your honorable house, that, during the last fourteen years, various applications have been made to the Crown to found a Colony at Natal, and that the several governors at the Cape of Good Hope have either warmly supported the said applications, or have not disapproved of them; par-

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ticularly in 1834, when a large number of the merchants, and other inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, represented to the Government that such a Colony was highly desirable; and your petitioners submit, that the objections then made on the score of expense, which at that period led the Government to refuse acquiescence in such applications, no longer exist, inasmuch as the self-supporting principle of selling the freehold of the soil having been tested by experience, is now more fully understood; and is so available at Natal that the British Treasury will not be called upon to advance one shilling towards the establishment of the Colony.

Your petitioners submit, that it is impossible to procure the funds necessary for carrying into effect the proposed important objects if the land-selling principle be not adopted; they, therefore humbly suggest, that the South Australian plan, as respects the sale of land, may be employed at Natal, but with this variation, that a portion only of the money obtained by such sales shall be applied to defray the expense of the emigration of laborers—mechanics being chiefly wanted, inasmuch as free native labour may be easily obtained when the Colony is established—the remaining portion of the money so raised to be applied to the purposes of surveys, the formation of roads, bridges, and the general expenses of Government, including the protection of the natives, their proper restraint by a good police, and their moral and religious improvement.

Your petitioners further submit, that a colony based upon sound principles of political and social liberty, guaranteed to all denominations of men, and properly guarded against abuse and license, will secure the confidence of capitalists, lead to a profitable investment of money, and obtain for free laborers of all classes and colors ample remuneration, with the prospect of steadily bettering their condition; and that such a system, if established at the same time with the principle of selling the Crown lands, and applying the proceeds to public colonial objects alone, will lay a firm foundation for great improvements in the condition of large masses of men in Southern Africa.

Your petitioners likewise submit to your honorable House that the establishment of a just and well-matured system of colonial government and administration under the crown, with constitutional guarantees, *is beyond all comparison preferable to the plan recently proposed for substituting the political agency of missionaries, in place of the power and influence of regular British government,* wherever the fair interests and just activity of British subjects may in future carry them; your petitioners, on the contrary, submit that, whilst missionaries ought to be supported and multiplied to the utmost need by all possible means, actual experience proves that their efficiency becomes deteriorated by unnecessary political agency.

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Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that the foregoing allegations may be inquired into by your honorable House, and that your honorable House will address her Majesty not only to adopt the acquisitions already made by British subjects at Natal, but also to cause the remaining portions of the depopulated country to be acquired by treaty with the chiefs who own it. Your petitioners likewise pray, that a colony may be established there on a new and just system with regard to the natives, and upon the principle of selling the Crown lands according to a plan to be settled by Act of Parliament, so as to furnish competent means for carrying such a good system into effect for the equal benefit of all classes of men.

And your petitioners pray that the Act of Parliament may vest the government of the proposed colony in the crown, and independently, as far as may be convenient, of the Cape of Good Hope, and appoint commissioners in London to sell the lands. That provision be made in the Act of Parliament to guarantee all existing rights; and that all details be also introduced into the said Act for the establishment of a steady system of just and safe intercourse with the neighboring tribes; and for the equal protection of the colored as well as white people within the colony; likewise that a loan of sufficient amount, according to an estimate of all the public wants of the colony, for a certain number of years may be authorized to be raised under the Act upon the security of a competent portion of the land to be sold.—And petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

The late occurrences at Natal were communicated to the public by the Government in the following :—

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Intelligence has recently been received from the Officer commanding at Port Natal, up to the 27th of March.

It does not appear that any further hostilities took place after the retreat of the Emigrant Farmers, as mentioned in the Government Gazette of the 1st February last; and, fortunately, the further effusion of human blood is likely to be stopped for some time to come by the conclusion of a treaty or convention between the Zoolu chief, at his instance, and the emigrants,—by which the former agrees to restore the horses, cattle, and arms of the latter, which had fallen into his hands,—*and relinquishes for their use the country to the S. W. of the Togala River.*

The Emigrants are healthy, and do not appear to have suffered from want : so little indeed, that a quantity of rice landed for sale at Natal has been re-shipped for this Colony.

The Commandant at Natal *interfered no further* in the negociations which led to the treaty, than by using his good offices in the

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attainment of some arrangement which would probably have the effect of preventing further bloodshed; and, consequently, the *Colonial Government is no party to the treaty*, and stands in no degree pledged for the observance, on either side, of any of its provisions,—neither does it recognize the treaty as affecting in any degree the question between Her Majesty's Government and the Emigrants, as to their *pretence of independence*.

The communication between this Colony and Port Natal by sea, will remain upon the existing footing, until further instructions from H.M. government shall have been received; but as the Emigrants have, by making peace with the Zoolas, shewn a desire to abstain from further hostilities in that quarter, the Commandant of Port Natal will be instructed to restore to them the ammunition which was seized at the occupation of that place; provided those of their leaders who were parties to the Treaty place in his hands a written and signed declaration, that it is not the intention of themselves, or their people, to turn their arms against the Zoolas, or any other of the native tribes, but to restrict themselves to measures of self-defence alone on the territory which they now occupy.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 18th April, 1839.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) JOHN BELL,

Secretary to Government.

The impolicy of demanding the guarantee required from the farmers before the powder should be restored, which the Government had improperly seized, will be apparent from the following entry in a Journal of Events, kept at Natal:—

April 10th—We have not yet received any tidings from Dingaan, but look for the return of his captains next week. The farmers will go in to receive the cattle early in May, and I hear they will muster from 1,500 to 2,000 strong.

April 12th—Carel Landman, the commandant, returned yesterday from the camp under the Bushman's Rand, and brings the intelligence that the Bushman Kafirs living near the camp had captured three *spies* from Dingaan. Two of these the Kafirs killed, and the third was brought to the camp. He confessed that he had been sent out by the treacherous Zoolu King, *with orders to ascertain whether the farmers were separating in consequence of the late overtures of peace, or were still living in the "leger."* He added that this was the second time Dingaan had sent him out. In the first instance he was obliged to retire in consequence of the vigilance of the farmers, and that Dingaan only gave him his life on condition of his making a second attempt. Surely this will shew

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that Dingaan is not to be trusted, and that his peace is a pretext to get the farmers to separate.

The state of the country, and situation of the Farmers, described by a visitor, at this period, may not, perhaps, prove uninteresting :—

Port Natal, May 20, 1839.

The country of Natal, to the North-westward of the Bay, as far as we have visited, presents a most magnificent aspect. It is surrounded by extensive woods, where every sort of wood is found. Trees as high as fir trees, and much resembling them, called the Noorsdoorn,* are seen raising their lofty tops over the more humble trees. Wild fruit trees, much resembling the apricot, peach, apple, and bananna tree, are here in great abundance, but producing no fruits. The country from the Omlaas, (a river distant about 3 hours on horseback from the Bay) up to the Bosjesmens Rand, South westward, and about 3 days on horseback from the Bay, is an open plain, full of grass, but hilly, being according to the opinion of our countrymen, very adapted for tillage. Indian corn and pumpkins grow here throughout the whole of the year in abundance, and since the last attack of Dingaan, no one has yet suffered any great want. You also find here patattas, (sweet potatoes) not so large as those at the Cape, but oblong and woody. The farmers will not sow much this year, as they are in want of seed wheat; it is only here and there that you find any one who has one or two buckets of corn. The cattle in general look remarkably well. The horse-sickness prevails here at this moment particularly in the neighbourhood of the Bay, but deaths are not so frequent as in the colony.

The inhabitants of Port Natal, up to the Bosjesmans Rand, as far as we have been, are chiefly the Zoolas of Port Natal, Kafirs, and the Farmers. In the country round the Bay you find some Englishmen, who are called Kafir-Chiefs, and also some few Hottentots. The Natal Kafirs are all distributed in kraals, and live principally upon Indian corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and cattle: of the last they have very few, as the greatest part have been stolen by Dingaan. The farmers derive a great benefit from them, as they are good herdsmen; for being allowed to milk one cow for their own use, they herd whole flocks of cattle. Every morning they come to the camps of the farmers, and make exchange for a little fat, milk, &c. It is said that their number is about 2,000, a good number having been murdered by Dingaan before the arrival of the farmers.

* Noorsdorn—*Euphorbium.*

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The farmers have not yet separated, but occupy different parts of the country in parties of 50, 60, 100, and some of 200 together. These places they call camps, and those camps are on all sides surrounded by poles, to serve for intrenchments. We have visited almost all those places, and have found every where the greatest harmony. Domestic religious service regularly takes place, and every house-father performs in his family the task of an instructor. It is, however, much to be wished that some men of knowledge would settle amongst them, that the education of the youth may be properly attended to. The whole people here anxiously desire to have a proper clergyman, and intend at Bosjesman's Rand, the place where the colony is to be established, to erect a church. While we were there a subscription was opened for that purpose, and in less than half an hour, a sum of £300 had been subscribed.

The country at the Bosjesman's Rand, where they intend to establish the colony, is an extensive, beautiful plain, of about 4 miles in extent, situate between two rivers, the waters of which are now conducted throughout the whole new colony. The name of the village, or rather town, which they intend to establish, is to be called "*Pietermauritzburg*." There are here about 200 warriors, with the exception of the young men, women, and children. Every Sunday the Clergyman, Mr. Smit, holds regular religious service, and many people from the other camps come to attend it. The Sunday we were there, the number attending was about 300. This place is now the chief town. The government is still the same as we learned from the report of Mr. Boshof, and is now busily engaged to grant erven and places to those who have applied for them.

With respect to the number of Emigrants which are on this side of the Draakberg, in relation to the camps which we have visited, it consists of a good 500.

Dingaan has at last supplicated for peace, and sent word that he is prepared to consent to all the claims of the farmers. On Wednesday, the 10th last, he sent one of his chiefs, named Tambousa, together with five others, to the Bosjesmans Rand, for the purpose of further conference about peace; but as our chief Commandant Pretorius was absent, we could not give him answer, and he was consequently requested to wait till further orders. It was the intention of Pretorius (who had in the mean time returned from Draakberg) to proceed to the Togala on the 18th, with about 700 men, to meet Dingaan, whom he had given notice to be at that place to treat about peace.

Another spirited, but equally futile attempt, was now again essayed to enlist the Home Government into the cause of the Natal Settlers :—

On the 6th of June, 1839, Messrs. Anderson, Borradaile, May-

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nard, Moreing and Steedman, on behalf of the Natal Association, had an interview with Lord Normanby respecting the proposed Colony at Natal; and on the Tuesday following Messrs. Anderson, Borradaile, and Bannister, saw Mr. Labouchere to ask the consent of Government to a committee of the House of Commons, to enquire into the propriety of founding such a Colony.

The Earl of Ripon, at the same time, presented a petition to the House of Lords from certain merchants of Liverpool, in favor of this Colony, and Lord Sandon presented a similar petition in the House of Commons on the same subject.

The means by which it was proposed to ensure the prosperity of this Colony, were—

1. The confirmation of all just contracts between the present settlers and natives for land.
2. Just treaties with the natives.
3. The sale of the land on the new principle, and leasehold occupations.
4. Sufficient preliminary surveys.
5. Good establishments for police and justice.
6. Skilful interpreters.
7. Schools.
8. Medical aid for natives against small-pox and the like.
9. Political agents with the considerable neighbouring tribes.
10. Taking out mechanics to the extent of one third of the proceeds of the lands sold by the Government.
11, A loan of 50,000l. on the public lands to meet expenses of government, building. &c.
12. Two thirds of the proceeds of the land sold by the Government to be appropriated to the public expenditure for the administration, including provisions for national institutions and the like.

It has already been observed that the military occupation of Natal was undertaken by the Governor of the Cape without the sanction of the Home Government, but they extricated him from that responsibility by a tardy approval; the state, however, in which he was left with regard to the *independence* claimed by the Emigrants, and the uncertainty with which the subject was shrouded, appear from his speech in Council, in October of this year, when he said it rested not with him to recognise such a claim, or, at the same time, to *deny* it. This unfortunate declaration, involving a doubt as to the ultimate decision, invigorated the hopes, and had a decidedly mischievous influence upon the Farmers.

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The Military occupation of Port Natal has met with the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government, with whom entirely depends the settlement *of every question concerning the relations in which the Emigrant Colonists stand with the British Authorities.* I rejoiced to learn that a convention had been made between the Emigrants and the Zoolus, under which it seems probable that peace may be preserved, and much of the property taken by that people restored. *It rests not with me to deny*, much less to recognise the independence of the expatriated Farmers; but in the meantime, and *in the absence of any instruction in the matter*, I deem myself precluded from sanctioning any regular trade with, or any shipments to Port Natal, except, in the latter case, of such articles as appear to be necessary for the common comforts and subsistence of the Emigrants, *whilst they continue in peaceable relations with the natives, of which it would seem an unnecessarily hard measure to deprive them.*

The diary of proceedings at Natal, consequent on the overtures for peace, are thus stated :—

On the 24th May three persons as envoys were dispatched by Commandant Pretorius, who had encamped with his people at the Togala, to tell Dingaan that they were waiting at that place, and that they claimed all the cattle, sheep and other articles which had been taken during the last war.

On the 7th June, Dingaan sent 1,300 head of cattle, and between 400 and 500 sheep, which had belonged to the farmers, and which were called *Christian* cattle; as also 52 guns, and 43 saddles and bridles, with a message that he was ready every moment to deliver up the nineteen thousand, three hundred head of cattle which had been claimed by Pretorius. Pretorius asked him whether Dingaan had much ivory, but he said, not much; but that if he chose, he might get a good quantity. Pretorius then desired him to tell Dingaan, that if he could furnish him with ivory, he might pay with that article for part of the number of cattle; and also that he was not, for the present, to send cattle, as it was now too cold for them; but that he would let him know. The envoy broke up on the 7th June—it was about 500 men strong. Most of the people who have come from the other side of the Draakberg, and were present at the commission, have returned back, on account of the severe cold, and will not as I am informed, come hither till after the winter season, for their cattle is every thing to them.

Pietermauritzberg was again visited on the 30th June by two of Dingaan's ambassadors. They said that they came to ask when the cattle were to be delivered up; but it having been announced by a

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Hottentot called Klaas Pommer, that they were no Captains, but merely a *beer-brewer* and a *gardener* of Dingaan's,—and they themselves acknowledged it, Pretorius asked them why the real Captains had not come?—they replied, that they considered themselves *too high*. They were then ordered to leave immediately, and to tell Dingaan that if his chief Captains did not appear at Pietermauritzburg within 12 days, he might expect him (Pretorius) with a Commando in his country. Dingaan, also, shortly afterwards, sent four Natal Caffers, who had been convicted of stealing cattle in his country, well secured to Pietermauritzburg. The thieves have each of them been well flogged in the presence of 10 or 12 of Dingaan's people.

Congella. August 11, 1839.

We had the pleasure of seeing the Chief Commandant here yesterday, with a Commission from the Council, (Volksraad), whose principal view was to inspect both the banks of the fine and magnificent River Umganie, where some of the Emigrants intend to establish themselves. This commission was also empowered to make provision for the establishment of a local Government or Drostdy, the extensive boundaries of which to comprise all the land between the Togala and Umzimvoboo, until it meets the boundaries of Pietermaurizburg, where old Mr. F. Roos, at the particular request of said Commandant and commission, has engaged provisionally for six months to act as Landdrost; while the following Gentlemen have been elected as Heemraden:—

L. Badenhorst, F. Jager, H. Bredenbach, Servaus van Breda, D. van Rooyen, and W. Koube, Esquires.

Having been present when Mr. Roos was appointed, I heard him take the following oath of office:—

"I swear, that I will execute the duties which have been entrusted to me, with fidelity and sincerity, to the utmost of my power;—that I will maintain justice according to the prescripts of my instructions, without distinction of persons;—that I will respect and protect Divine Service by authority and my own example; and that I will do every thing that may tend to be useful and necessary for the weal and prosperity of this country and its inhabitants.—I further promise to execute, or cause to be executed, the directions of the (Volksraad) Council, to the utmost of my ability;—to encourage with mildness and indulgence the tribes residing under my jurisdiction to diligence and industry, and to civilize them;—and further to act in a manner as the honor and authority of the Council, and the dignity of the situation entrusted to me, will require,—

"So truly help me God Almighty.

"F. Roos.

"Port Natal, the 10th August, 1839."

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The public will perceive, that the prosperity of the surrounding tribes is taken at heart by the Emigrants, as a serious subject of their concern for them.

The seizure of the powder by the armed authority sent from the Colony to Natal, as might have been expected, caused great irritation. It was offered to be returned, as has been seen by the Government Notice of the 18th April, 1839, upon certain conditions, to which it was unlikely the Farmers should subscribe. Their Assembly of Representatives thus replied to the invitation to take it back:—

Pietermauritsberg, 31st July, 1839.

The Assembly of the Representatives of the People, convened at Pietermauritsberg, &c., to the Commandant of the detachment of Troops of Her Majesty the Queen of England, now at Port Natal.

Sir—We hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th June, 1839, together with a document enclosed therein, which you call a declaration, and which being subscribed by us, you would feel disposed to return our ammunition which has been seized by you;—We have to state in reply, that the Assembly have maturely taken it into consideration, but that not one of the members considered himself obliged to sign the same, nor willing to call upon any person whatsoever to make any such declaration for obtaining back our lawful property, which has been taken from us in an unlawful manner *on our own territory*.

And as we know (according to a declaration of the Governor of the Cape, as also from letters of Major Charters,) that the troops were sent hither with no other view but *merely to take temporary possession of this port*, for the purpose of preventing bloodshed, which might take place against the natives, and to reconcile both parties—for which purpose we are also of opinion that said ammunition was seized,—we must now hereby positively declare, that the peace between us emigrants and all the surrounding natives is positively certain, and will continue as long as they deal with us in a proper manner—and we expect that you will now deliver up such ammunition without hesitation. You were personally present when the parties with whom we lived in enmity requested us to make peace; we entered into negociations through our last commission for that purpose, and a final conclusion of peace has been effected.

We therefore consider that neither you nor the English Government can now have the least reason to keep the Port in possession any longer. We also expect that you will leave it as soon as possible, and that nothing will prevent your delivering up all that which is our

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lawful property. We must also signify to you our utter displeasure and astonishment at the seizure of the arms of our unfortunate countrymen, whom we have caused to be brought back from Delagoa in a vessel at our own expense.* We are the more astonished as we are not in want of arms wherewith to provide 500 or 600 men should they come hither without arms. We also find in Cape Newspapers that a certain Mr. Bannister has come forward to propose the establishment of a British colony at Natal; and though we take little notice of what the newspapers say, we have however to signify to you, should you remain here for that purpose, or that you are awaiting them, that we shall never allow one, or more persons, to establish himself here without subjecting himself to the jurisdiction of this community; nor shall we allow another community to be established here.

In the mean time we have the honor to be,

[Signed by the Chief Commandant PRETORIUS, and the Members of the Assembly of the Emigrants.]

To Capt. H. Jervis, &c. &c.

The following is the DECLARATION, alluded to in the above letter:—

"We, the Undersigned Leaders of the Emigrant Farmers, parties to the late treaty of peace with the Zoolas, and others, do hereby solemnly declare—That provided the ammunition, which was seized by the troops on the occupation of Port Natal, is restored to us, it is not the intention of ourselves or people, to turn our arms against the Zoolas, or any other of the Native Tribes; but to restrict ourselves to measures of self-defence alone,—on the territory which we now occupy."

Panda, the brother of Dingaan, having retired from the neighborhood of that chief, and settled close to the Emigrants, a general suspicion began to be entertained that he meditated treachery, although he gave out that he had quarrelled with his brother, and was obliged to remove through fear of Dingaan's vengeance. The Emigrants, therefore, procured his presence before their Council, on the 15th of October, when the following information was elicited:—

Ques.. What did you come here for, and why did you cross the Togala?

Ans. To escape from Dingaan, and to seek for protection amongst you.

Q. Why did you escape from Dingaan?

* The family of Triechard.

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A. Because I heard that Dingaan wanted to proceed further into the interior, and because I did not wish to join him, and also because he would certainly cause me to be murdered, should he ascertain my unwillingness to join him.

Q. Give us a statement of all the particulars?

A. I was informed that Dingaan had sent four regiments to Sapoesa, in order to encroach on the country of that chief; but he was defeated by that chief, with the loss of many head of cattle, and Dingaan then sent for two other regiments.

Q. Did these regiments go thither?

A. Yes, they complied with that order, and when they reached the place, they heard that Dingaan, together with his cattle, women, children, &c., had already proceeded onward. They then returned. I asked them for the reasons why they returned? They answered, that they had not found Dingaan, as he had proceeded onward. Dingaan then sent to me to ascertain why I and my people were not proceeding, and whether we intended to join the white people. After that I received another message, ordering me to come to Dingaan, and thank him that he had not made us suffer for our disobedience. I then told my captains that they might go if they chose. Some went. On their way they again met some messengers with cattle, who came to call me. I clearly saw from all this that Dingaan cherished hostile views against me. At last Umsela, the chief captain of Dingaan, came in person, and said to my people, "Why don't you rise and proceed onward, or do you wait for Panda? If you wait for him, I can tell you that within a short time one of Dingaan's commandos will surround him; don't you clearly see that he has turned his face towards the whites?" Umsela having said this, part of my people joined him, but the greatest part turned back and said to me, "Will you sit here and wait until the commando surprise us?" I answered, "We will go; I have heard of there being white people at the Togala, I will immediately send a message thither." At last I arrived at the Togala with the half of Dingaan's people, where I met Mr. de Lange.

Q. Who was the chief of the Zoola country before Chaka?

A. His father, Ipson Sakona.

Q. What where you under his orders?

A. One of the great captains, which I was until the death of Chaka.

Q. Did you often go on commando?

A. Yes, but not once under Dingaan.

Q. Why did you not wish to go with Dingaan?

A. Because I have heard that the white people wished to live in peace with us; and why should I allow myself to be murdered by a villian, or take to flight with him?

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Q. Where have you lived?
A. In the country along the Ganzela.
Q. What is the reason that you did not become king instead of Dingaan?
A. Chaka had sent me on a commando against the chief called Sosangaan, and when I returned, I was informed that Dingaan had put himself on the throne in my absence, and had murdered my father Chaka, and the whole royal family.
Q. Has not Dingaan endeavored to murder you when you returned?
A. No, but Slela and Tamboesa, the chief Captains, wished to kill me, but Dingaan would not allow it, pretending that I had not influence enough, and could do no harm.
Q. When you sent a message to the Togala were you already effecting your escape?
A. Yes.
Q. Where did you meet Mr. de Lange?
A. On this side of the Togala.
Q. If you had not met the whites at the river, would you notwithstanding have continued your way?
A. Yes, as I was proceeding, I would not have stopped.
Q. Do you not know, then, that according to treaty no Zoola is allowed to come to this side of the Togala?
A. Yes, but what is a man not capable of when his life is in danger.
Q. Panda! this day you must be sincere.
A. Yes, for that reason I came hither in person to speak to the gentlemen. I shall lay my heart open to you.
Q. If Dingaan had acted like you, war would have been at an end;
A. Therefore you see that I come personally, and deal with you in a more upright manner than Dingaan. I wish to be your friend, and act according to your wishes.
Q. What do you now expect of us?
A. As the gentlemen now give me liberty to speak, I would request you for the piece of ground between the Umslalee and Umvoti.
Q. Why won't you live on the other side of the Togala?
A. Because I am afraid of Dingaan, as I have divided the people.
Q. Don't you know then that Dingaan may not murder any people?
A. Yes, but he will not care about that.
Q. Do you consider yourself strong enough to wage war against Dingaan?
A. Not at the present moment; but if the people receive information of the peace, they certainly will come to me in crowds.

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Q. Do you know how the people are inclined ?

A. Yes: I have also sent out spies, but as Dingaan's commando was in the bushes, they have not been able to do anything.

Q. Do you know how many captains will join you, when they hear of the peace between you and us ?

A. Of three I have already heard, they are on the other side of Dingaan, and cannot therefore come at present.

Q. How many regiments has Dingaan, wherewith he wages war ?

A. This I cannot say for a certainty, as many have been killed in the battle with Sapoesa.—He probably has many yet.

Q. Have many of Dingaan's people been killed ?

A. Yes; as well of his people as those of Sapoesa.

Q. Have you received intelligence, or do you know with certainty, where Dingaan now is ?

A. No; I do not know at the present moment where he is, I cannot say with certainty. I have heard that he (Sapoesa) had killed more than half of Dingaan's people in the last conflict.

Q. Can't you send out spies, whom you as well as we may trust ?

A. Yes; this I will do immediately, perhaps as soon as I get to my camp; perhaps the spies I have sent out have returned; I shall lose no time, for my heart is now full of joy, as I see that you deal with me in so good and kind a manner.

Q. You know that we will no longer allow Dingaan to kill women and children, you must therefore send us a report as soon as possible, so that we may take steps accordingly.

A. Yes that I will do, and as the gentlemen are so kind towards me, they must open their hearts very wide for me, yes, as wide as my arm (he lifted his arm on high).

Promise was then made to him. that the land for which he had asked would be allowed him, until he should be able to live on the other side of the Togala in peace and in safety; and that he might always calculate on the protection of the farmers as long as he behaved himself as a friend and a faithful ally.

The result of this examination ended in the installation of *Panda* as the Chief or Sovereign of the Zoolas, under the Emigrant Farmers, and is described by their Landdrost for the district of Togala as follows :—

The following is part of the statement of the Landdrost of Togala, of his Embassy in October, 1839, to the camp of Panda :—

In compliance with a request of the Assembly of the Emigrants, I departed on the 24th October last, accompanied by the Heemraad, S. van Breda, and M. van Breda, who joined at our request, to visit the kraal of the chief Panda, where we arrived on the 26th

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with four more wagons, in company of the member of the Assembly G. Kemp, the Commandant Fourie, the Field-cornet Jan Meyer, Messrs. Morwood, Dr. Krausze, Delagorgue, and many other respectable persons; the Member of the Assembly, Jacob Moolman and his company having also joined us on our written application.

On the first interview of the commission with Panda, we already perceived a dejected melancholy in him, which was apparent to us during the whole time of our stay with him, and in every thing he did.

After having communicated to him with what view the commission had come there, and what orders we had received from the assembly of the emigrants, he was requested to prepare himself by the next morning, to be solemnly installed as the head, or Prince of the Zoola emigrants, and to be presented to his people as such; and the flag having been brought in his presence, he repeated in an impressive manner the solemn assurance of peace, friendship, and alliance, which he had before given to the assembly. When this was communicated by his chief captains to the great crowd, who had collected together (which we estimated at more than 3,000 warriors, and more than an equal number of young men and women), a cry was raised three times as a sign of their approbation. The following morning having been fixed for a feast or military dance, Panda requested, that after it should be finished, the same honor of firing a volley of musketry might be shewn him, which he had received at Bosjesman's Rand. On the morning of that day, Panda was invited to the tent of Mr. Breda, in front whereof the national flag was offered him, amongst which a fine blue cloak, presented by Mr. Parker, and a very fine officer's poinard, by Mr. Delagorgue, wherewith he girded himself. Panda was then seated in our court on the right hand of the Landdrost, and the other gentlemen according to their ranks, on which occasion the Landdrost repeated to him the assurance of friendship and alliance, and the protection granted to him by the assembly of the emigrants; which again having been communicated to the people, a cry of joy was again thrice raised; after which it was signified to Panda, that his stay on this side of the Togala was but of a temporary nature, and that neither the delivery of any cattle, nor anything else of whatever nature, was to be considered as giving him any right to the land now occupied by him, but that he would have to leave this part of the country as soon as his own safety should in any way allow. It was also agreed with him, that in future he should allow no punishment of death for supposed witchcraft, or other ridiculous superstitious pretences.

That at his death, his successor should be chosen by his people, subject to our approval.

That his title should be "Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zoolas," until he should have been confirmed as Dingaan's successor.

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That he will fulfill and comply with the contract entered into by the Assembly of the Emigrants with Dingaan, in respect of the acknowledged boundary line, as well as in respect of the delivery of the stolen cattle, &c.

That in future he will not allow any woman, child, or defenceless aged person to be murdered; nor allow any war or hostility of his people with any neighbouring chief or tribes without the consent of the Assembly of the Emigrants.

After this, Panda was requested to call two or three of his most faithful captains and friends particularly attached to his person, when the following three were called in by him, and presented as chief captains:—

NICHOLAAS,
EMMELIN, and
PANGA ZOAKA.

The Landdrost then addressed them, and alluded to the honorable station wherein they had now been placed by the Prince, and the great obligation they were under for the personal safety of his person; observing at the same time, that all injuries and evil advice with respect to war, cruelty, or faithlessness towards our Government, would be avenged upon them personally; whereupon Panda left the tent with visible marks of approbation.

A few moments afterwards we perceived a loud and violent agitation in a circle formed by more than 300 men, which at the commencement appeared as a preparation for the intended feast, but the noise and clashing of kierries increasing, we sent a little Kafir, our interpreter, to the spot, who having been at a distance of 200 or 250 paces from us, returned quite terrified, stating that they were in the act of murdering one of the captains just appointed. We then sent to Panda, desiring his return to us, in order to make a beginning with the promised feast, and thus make an end to the agitation that was existing. Deep dejection and discontent were perceivable in his countenance and appearance, and having placed all his people at a distance, he addressed them, through the Captain Assagaay in a serious tone, and often with signs of threats, and from what we could collect from our Interpreter, everything said by him on this occasion amounted to an entire disapproval of the murder committed on the Captain Panga Zoaka, saying, "Why have you committed such an act in the presence of the white people? What must they think of me, as I have a few moments since promised not to allow any such cruelties; where shall I find friends and protectors in future when I shall again be compelled to flee?"—The multitude surrounding us then appeared to consult about what had happened, when the majority seemed to approve of what had occurred, while some of the friends of the murdered chief still pleaded the cause of their friend with passion and firmness. Fearing, however, that by a continuance of this difference the agitation

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would increase, we desired Panda to make a beginning with the promised feast, and after having saluted the flag with a general charge, their "Mulescere dance" commenced, which had a very interesting, but in many respects a fearful appearance. To give a proper description thereof I shall leave to more competent persons, and only say, that it was grand, and at the same time very interesting, to witness the regularity of the movements of their bodies while dancing, performed by so many thousands; while another set, called flatterers or praisers, abounded in praising Panda for his many virtues, riches, mildness, greatness, glorious birth, and for the corporal beauty of himself and his many wives, which perhaps would not have ceased if the dance had not been discontinued on account of the powder-flask of Mr. Moorwood having caught fire, burning his clothes, and slightly wounded himself. Panda then returned to his residence.—What the unfortunate consequences would have been if Panda had accidently been wounded by one of the splinters of the copper powder flask, which had spread in every direction, we cannot say, particularly after what had occurred as before described, about which visible signs of discontent were yet perceivable in many of the people.

On the following morning we went to Panda's residence to take leave of him; we were, however, not received with that frankness and civility, to which we thought we had claim; and having on that occasion congratulated him on the good success of his confirmation as Prince of the Emigrant Zoolahs, he presented to the Landdrost, as a particular present, 6 fat oxen, for the many civilities which were shewn him by him and his family; to which the Landdrost replied that he could not accept of them, as he had sworn, on entering on the duties of his office, not to accept of any presents for himself, and he would otherwise become liable to punishment by the government; but that he would takethem for distribution amongst the poorer classes, who would be very grateful for them; to which Panda replied, "if that be the case, I will myself give 10 oxen for the poor, 10 oxen and 2 cows for yourself, and 42 cows and calves for those who fired at the time of my installation."

Though the Landdrost would have complied with his request on this occasion *unconditionally*, he however considered it necessary for the honor of our community, to apprise him of our opinions on the subject, by telling him that as long as his national debt, whereto he had bound himself in the name of Dingaan, was not discharged, he could not expect us to accept of any presents from him, and that not only these presents but also those to Mr. de Lange, being 40 or 50 head, together with the 200 delivered to him on a former occasion, would all be deducted from the said national debt, and that he, by making these presents, should never pretend to have any right on the land which was only granted to him for a short time, as a momentary protection; and that, as we had now seen his great

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force, we requested him as soon as possible to prepare for action against our general foe, as the many new coming colonists would soon require that land occupied by him. He said that he was obliged to ask our permission, before undertaking it, to send out a small commando against a neighboring captain, who had committed many thefts amongst his women and cattle. The Landdrost having asked the advice of the several members of the Assembly of the Emigrants then present, G. Kemp, J. Moolman, the Commandant de Lange, the Commandant Fourie, Field Commandant Rensburg, and Field-commandant Meyer, they gave assurrance of the bad and thievish character of the captain alluded to, who had evinced great hostility, on former occasions, against us, when Panda received our permission, under the usual directions against murder of women and children, and to avoid all unnecessary bloodshed as much as possible. After which 100 oxen and 278 head of cattle were sent to Field Commandant Rensburg, in part-payment of the losses sustained by the Emigrants, whereof, on the proposal of our company, on our arrival at the Omgini, 78 head were retained for the poor at the camps of Omlass and Congella, which being added to the presents to the Landdrost and others, making in all 108, have been distributed by lots amongst the people, who evinced general gratefulness and satisfaction for what had been done.

From the general but unfair estimate of the character of the boers it was supposed that, once let loose from the restraint of the Colony, all the exaggerated horrors of the commando system would be revived by them, after such extraordinary successes following so closely on the heels of their bitter reverses. Those who so predicted the sanguinary course they were destined to run, knew not the boers, and we have the testimony of the American missionary, the Rev. Mr. Lindly, who visited the Colony this month of October, when he praised the piety, industry, and good feeling of the emigrant farmers, but more particularly their "*extraordinary forbearance*" towards the Zoolahs, after such deadly provocation, and foretold from the known character of the enemy that the farmers would soon be forced into offensive measures.

A statement having appeared in the *Graham's Town Journal* of the 31st of October, indicating the probability of the arrival of British Immigrants direct from England at Natal, to take possession of lands which were likely to be sold by adventurers in London, after the manner at the time practicing

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with regard to New Zealand, the farmers, exasperated at the bare idea of the injustice of wresting from them territory purchased by their sufferings and blood, and legally conveyed to them, first by a peaceable treaty—afterwards by a cession, and subsequently acquired and extended by conquest, issued the following intemperate, but determined manifesto, which ought to have been enough to open the eyes of the Colonial and Home Government to the temper of the farmers, and the difficulties which were daily gathering around the "vexed question" of the Natal settlement:—

PORT NATAL.

DECLARATION AND PROTEST OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE EMIGRANTS.

This day was read in Assembly, in the presence of the chief Commandant, all the civil and burgher officers, and a great number of our most respectable inhabitants, an extract from the *Graham's Town Journal* of the 31st October, 1839, wherein it is stated that part of this country was sold to a number of English Emigrants, and that they may soon be expected here to take possession hereof.

This subject, in respect of which we have on a former occasion represented our grievances to the Commanding Officer of the Military Detachment stationed here, having been taken into consideration with enthusiasm and indignation, the Assembly, on the urgent solicitation of the public here, have been directed by them to publish, in all the circulating papers in the Colony, their protest against it, together with the following representations, observations and resolutions, for the guidance of those deluded strangers, who, instead of finding in this country the "promised land," will meet with death and massacre?

It is, therefore, necessary for them to know, that the Cape emigrants—finding *their rights and privileges daily violated and trampled upon—they themselves incessantly insulted, ridiculed, and degraded in their honor and reputation,—their right of property violated,—and protection of life and property refused,—have been compelled to leave their beloved country, and their dearly beloved friends and relations.*

That this emigration has taken place *publicly* under the eye of the colonial government, and after due payment of their taxes, for which they have sacrificed their valuable farms. They have been wandering about for three years, in regions, to them, unknown, without experience, compass, or guide,—exposed to all obstacles which nature put in their way, by insurmountable mountains reach-

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ing the clouds, exposed to serious wants and disappointments, surrounded and pursued by innumerable beasts of prey, with whom they daily had to struggle, for the purpose of obtaining food,—and without any government or laws, other than such as were deeply ingrafted in their hearts by the mighty finger of the Lord,—notwithstanding which, during their prolonged wanderings no crime has taken place which could affect their character in any way.

All this, however, was not able to discourage them;—driven away like bastard children from their paternal abodes by strangers, they felt it as a painful grievance and were pained at their very hearts by deep sorrow. Religion, and the conviction of the justness of their case, relieved them in surmounting all those difficulties. Peacefully proceeding and approaching Matzelikatse, that fearless blasphemer challenged the great inconceivable Being, in the presence of the missionaries, to give a proof of power greater than that of his own cruelty; that proof was given him by "the striking hand," through the emigrants, to his utter disgrace and entire ruin. On approaching Dingaan's kingdom, an agreement was entered into with that chief, for obtaining a piece of land, under certain conditions, which was most strictly fulfilled by our brave, honest, and unsuspecting predecessor, P. Retief, and which was afterwards ratified with his blood, and that of 70 more of our bravest men, shed by the treacherous murderer Dingaan; whilst the gathered pallid bones of the additional 370, innocently and treacherously murdered relations and friends at Boschjesman's River, will *remain a lasting evidence and as a visible beacon of right on that land, until another beacon of similar materials shall over-shadow ours.* Thus guided by the same mighty hand, which in former days saved our ancestors on the fearful St. Bartholomew's night,—we approached the long wished-for sea-shore, where we entered into an agreement of friendship and fraternity with the old inhabitants;* while a few months afterwards, that port was taken possession of by an English military detachment of 100 men, commanded by Major Charters; and as this was accompanied with the solemn assurance that the object was merely to watch against arbitrary murder, plunder, and rash bloodshed, we could not in fairness employ any violent measures against it. But now that our forbearance is ascribed to fear and cowardice, and as such represented to the world—now that we obtain every moment stronger and still stronger proofs of an ambiguous deviation of the original agreement,—now that we may expect every moment the arrival on our shores of thousands of poor deluded strangers, with the view of driving us from our dearly purchased and lawfully obtained new country, the assembly have, for the maintainance of our indisputable right on this

*The British settlers at Port Natal.

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land, obtained by virtue of treaties with the chief Dingaan, and afterwards ratified by the chief Panda, as well for the maintenance of our independence, honor and safety,—come to the following resolutions, with directions to the civil officers of the Burgher Force to give the fullest possible publicity thereto :

RESOLUTIONS.

That in case of any landing of strangers as Emigrants in the Port of Natal, without the previous consent of the Assembly having been obtained, such Emigrants shall be considered as enemies of the State.

That should the arrival of Emigrants be attended by such military force as shall be enabled to prevent us from opposing their landing, we will then retreat into the forests, mountains and kloofs which surround the Bay in every direction, and there defend ourselves in separate small parties, as did the oppressed Spaniards, and, according to the principal of Don Carlos, neither take nor give quarter, until we shall have recovered what is virtually ours.

That the several Commandants and Captains of the armed Burghers be called together, to make further arrangements in respect of the division and command of the several forces entrusted to them.

That a sufficient number of slaughter cattle, and a supply of maize, and other necessaries of life, be brought to different places in the vicinity of the Bay, for the maintenance of a guard of 40 men, to be placed on the Berea-height, for the purpose of watching the movements of Panda, as well as the surrounding tame Kafirs.

That a Subscription List be opened for the delivery and purchase of the provisions, &c., to be delivered to the local Landdrost for distribution.

That part of the ammunition be placed under the care and responsibility of the local Landdrost.

Thus done in our Assembly, this day, the 11th of November, 1839.

President and Members of the Assembly.

(Signed) J. S. Maritz, President,
G. J. Roedolph,
J. W. N. Pretorius,
J. J. Burgher,
P. T. van Staden,
M. van Deventer,
Willem A. Botha,
G. P. Kemp.

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In the month of November the welcome intelligence of the dismissal of Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom arrived in the Colony, and was hailed with gratitude as a mark of returning justice on the part of the Home Government. The removal and announcement, however, came unfortunately too late to heal the aggravated wounds of the Colonists and the people at Natal. The Lieut.-Governor was superseded on the charge of general unpopularity, to which His Excellency Sir George Napier had borne full testimony in his despatches home.

The Marquess of Normanby's letter to Captain Stockenstrom, conveying the dismissal, was dated 31st August, 1839, wherein he says—

> I have felt it my duty to submit to the Queen that it is not expedient that you should resume the government of the Eastern Districts of that Colony. * * * * *
> I conceive *that* retirement to have been *rendered inevitable by the feelings of distrust towards you*, which, as I learn from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, *have unhappily taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists* as to deprive your services in that quarter of the value which would otherwise belong to them, and as even to *convert exertions, in themselves most meritorious, into sources of discontent and disaffection to the Government.*

The Governor of the Colony having received orders from England to send away the 72nd Regiment determined to withdraw the detachment posted at Natal—*a fatal measure*—the blame of which must be equally borne by the Home Government as by himself—for he was still left, as was his predecessor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, without the least instructions, or any reply to the numerous despatches forwarded to Downing-street, relative to the rapidly accumulating embarrassments of the Natal question. On the 24th of December the *Vectis* left that port with the troops, and the farmers thus released from their presence, and very naturally interpreting their departure as a final abandonment of the place and recognition of their own often-proclaimed sovereignty, fired a salute, and, *for the first time hoisted their new colors*—those similar to the Dutch, but placed transversely instead of horizontally—

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the colors of the REPUBLIC OF NATALIA. The farmers and the troops parted with the same good feeling as had been mutually entertained, with a single exception,* during the whole of their intercourse, which was mainly attributed to the conduct of Captain Jarvis, the officer who had held the command.

Thus ended another memorable year in the annals of Natal.

A.D. 1840.

On the 6th January of this year the Council of the Boers at Pietermauritzberg enacted Port Regulations for the harbor of Natal, which reflect much credit upon them, especially

*The exception alluded to was thus noticed at the time in the *Graham's Town Journal*, 21st March, 1839 :—

"It will be in the recollection of our readers that His Excellency published a government notice on the 21st of May last, addressed 'to the farmers who have emigrated beyond the land boundary of the Colony,' in which he uses every endeavor to induce them to return, and engages that if any of the said emigrants have been in any way wronged, or have any grievance to complain of against Her Majesty's subjects or the *public functionaries*, that the most full and complete investigation shall, upon proper representation, be instituted, and either such redress afforded as it is in His Excellency's power to afford, or such representations, made to Her Majesty's government as the respective cases shall in justice demand. And when His Excellency afterwards determined to take possession of Natal, it was understood that Major CHARTERS, the officer in command, was instructed to hold out the same prospects and promises to the unfortunate emigrants in the hope of inducing them to return to the Colony. So far all was right, and we shall now see, if the report we hear be correct, in what manner this mission was executed by the officer to whom it was entrusted.

"It seems that a late slave apprentice, belonging to one of the farmers, complained to his gentleman of ill-treatment by his master, whereupon Major Charters, without hearing what the master of the apprentice had to say, in his defence, without ascertaining whether the complaint was well or ill-founded—without, in short, any investigation whatever, wrote to the master of the apprentice, and threatened that if he did not redress the grievance complained of, he would bring him to trial before a court martial and punish him accordingly.

"Such in substance is the report which has reached us, but still we cannot bring ourselves to believe that anything so impolitic and mischievous could actually have occurred—that the officer sent on this *conciliatory* mission, could, in effect, say to the Emigrants—'notwithstanding all the fine promises made to you by the Governor in his Proclamation, respecting the redress of grievances inflicted on you by public functionaries, I will teach you what you are to expect, if you should ever again place yourselves under the rule of the British Government, and that we will punish you when we *think* you deserve it, whether you are guilty or not.'"

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that article which declares the SLAVE TRADE *contraband,* and that any vessel of the kind which may put into the port shall be confiscated and the negroes liberated. This gives the lie direct to those confident assertions which have been made in the Colony and imposed upon the humanity of the public at home—that the emigrants abandoned the Colony, *solely* in consequence of the Act of Abolition. Nothing in the world can be more unfounded than this, but then it was a popular mode of covering the real cause of the disaffectiou of the emigrants. It must indeed be admitted that they were dissatisfied with the proceeding, but it was not with the Act itself—it was with the objectionable method in which it was carried out.

PORT REGULATIONS FOR NATAL.

Instructions for the Harbour Master and Superintendent of Customs at Port Natal, issued by order of the Council at Pietermauritzberg, and dated 6th February 1840.

1. That the Harbour-master shall, as soon as possible on the arrival of a vessel, proceed to such vessel, and cause her to be brought to anchor outside the bar, or conduct her in, as circumstances may require, and for which purpose the Harbour-master will have to make himself acquainted with the anchorage as well within as without the bar; he shall also be obliged and bound, on coming alongside of such vessel, immediately to inquire into the state of health of the ship's crew aud others on board, and should any contagious disease prevail, cause a flag to be hoisted half-mast high, and return immediately, making his report.

2. Every vessel entering the harbour shall have to pay the sum of Forty Rds. for pilotage and anchorage.

3. That the Harbour-master shall act as Pilot, and conduct vessels to a good anchorage, also render all possible assistance to them at their departure, taking care that one vessel do not obstruct the anchorage of another, and that no stones or filth be thrown on the beach opposite the anchorage.

4. That the Captain or his agent shall, as soon as possible, produce to the Superintendent of Customs all ship's papers, in order to report and enter the vessel; and the ship's papers are to be returned to the Captain, who, or his agent, is to bind himself in the sum of three hundred Rixdollars, for the due observance of the Port Regulations.

5. No goods, except passengers' baggage, to be allowed to be landed before the vessel's entry at the Custom house, which is to be

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done as soon as possible, or within twenty-four hours after arrival; and no papers shall be kept back, if demanded by the chief officer.

6. That a permit is to be taken out by every consignee or shipper, for landing or shipping goods, and by the Captain for taking in ship's stores, and for which permit one Rds. shall be paid.

7. That a duty of 10 pCt. shall be levied on wine, beer, and spirituous liquors: and on every other importation, 3 pCt. on the amount of the invoice, freight and charges not included, and the duties to be paid before the landing of the goods.

8. That ammunition or utensils of war, wheat, and other grain, garden seeds, breeding cattle, salt, and flour, shall be permitted to be imported duty free

9. That a licence of 20 Rds. per annum shall be taken out for every boat used for the purpose of landing or shipping goods, and that no such licence is to be granted to any person not being a burgher under this government.

10. That on goods being discovered to have been smuggled, the same shall be seized, and also the boat by which they were conveyed, in case it should appear that such was done with a fraudulent intention: that such persons shall be tried before the Landdrost, and that the articles thus seized shall be sold in favor of government, and the informer receive one-third of the amount raised by the sale of such goods.

11. The Harbourmaster shall not allow any stones, filth, or anything which may cause damage to the anchorage of vessels or boats, to be thrown on the beach, or to remain below high water mark, whereby any damage may be occasioned; and any person found so doing, shall be fined five Rds, for the first time, which fine shall be doubled for any subsequent offence; and the offender shall moreover be compelled to remove such stones, &c., or the Harbourmaster shall cause it to be done on account of such person.

12. That no Captain shall have the right to leave behind any of his crew, without the permission of the Landdrost, nor take any one with him, without the knowledge of the Harbourmaster.

13. That all weights and measures shall be Dutch, the liquid measures old English, and all solid measures Rhynland.

14. That a building shall be provided as a government store,—one Rd. per week to be paid for each ton; and persons storing more than five tons for a long time, or for more than one month, shall pay one Rd. per month for each ton.

15. The Captain or Agent shall have to hand to the Harbormaster, on his demanding the same, all private letters, who shall have to transmit them in his capacity as Postmaster.

16. *Any vessels entering the harbour, and having slaves on board, shall, together with the cargo, be confiscated, the slaves immediately be considered as free persons, and the captain and crew*

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placed under arrest, until such time as an opportunity shall offer to send them back to their place of residence.

17. The Harbormaster shall be at liberty to frame such additional Regulations as he may consider expedient, and to submit the same for the approbation of the Council.

18. The Harbourmaster shall be bound to account to the Commandant of the Port for the duties received from each Ship, immediately after the receipt thereof.

ADDITION.

Be it hereby made known,

That in conformity with the Resolutions taken by the Council (Raad), on the 31st April, 1840, according to the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 12th Resolutions:—

1. No person shall be allowed to make use of any Government boat in the Harbour of Port Natal, without the permission of a Harbour Master, or any officer in that capacity, under a penalty of Rds. 500.

2. No person shall be allowed to replace or remove any beacons, placed by the Harbour Master for the guidance of ships entering the same, under a penalty of Rds. 100.

3. No person shall be allowed with or without a boat, to go on board of any ship or vessel, either within or out of the bar, before the Harbourmaster shall have been on board of such ship or vessel, under a penalty of Rds. 1,500 for every such person, and in case of inability to pay, for the first offence such person shall be liable to imprisonment for six months.

4. No person shall be justified to fire off a cannon-shot at the point of the harbour, without the permission of the Harbour Master, under a penalty of Rds. 50.

By order of the Council,

P. H. Zietsman, Acting Secretary.

On the 14th of January, in consequence of the evasive conduct of Dingaan, an expedition was despatched against that chief to bring him to reason. Panda proved himself faithful to his new allies, the boers, and without their aid fell upon the despot—cut to pieces two of his regiments, and routed a third—one half of which came over to the conqueror. 36,000 head of cattle were thus taken and distributed amongst the sufferers, and Panda was at once elevated to the sovereignty over the Zoolas, with the same right and under the same pressure of circumstances as dictated the policy of England in

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India, and he, the vassal, of course entered into a treaty of amity, *everlasting* peace, friendship, and mutual defence with the emigrants.

The particulars of the final defeat of Dingaan, and the other occurrences on the commando against him, are contained in the following Journal:—

It being resolved that full restitution should be enforced from the Zoola chief for the losses sustained by the emigrants, and which Dingaan had failed to make, although he had solemnly pledged himself to do so; a party of farmers was assembled on the 14th of January, for the purpose of entering the Zoola country. This force consisted of 335 men, mounted and well armed, and who were subsequently joined by some other detachments, making up the total force to 400.

On the 20th January, a general order was issued by the chief commandant, A. W. J. Pretorius, and which in ten articles, defined the duties of the respective officers, and the punishment which would be inflicted for insubordination or other offences. A court martial, consisting of twelve persons, was also appointed to try and determine all cases which might occur while the commando was in the field.

The samé day a Zoola chief, named Mahowan, arrived at the camp, requesting to be allowed to act against Dingaan, in conjunction with the emigrants, and which request was acceded to. This man and his people earnestly requested they might be taken under the protection of the emigrants, for whom they expressed great esteem, and a confidence that under their government they could dismiss all that fear, in which they had hitherto lived, of being destroyed with their wives and children.

On the 21st January the emigrant forces moved from the Togala, and in the afternoon halted near the Klip River. Here they were joined by another party of Zoolas, who had revolted from Dingaan, on account of his remorseless cruelty. These natives also expressed their confidence in the white people, and determination to act in future as their faithful allies. This tribe, consisting of about 400 men, were directed to join Mahowan's division, 250 in number, and then to act with the native chiefs, Panda and Sapoesa, whose joint forces were about 4,000 strong. This native force was directed to manœuvre to the N. E., while the emigrants acted on the South East.

These orders having been given, the parties moved accordingly; the emigrants prudently retaining Panda, the most powerful native chief of those who had joined them, in their own camp, where he was treated with great kindness and attention. An order was here issued by the court martial, *forbidding, under pain of summary*

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punishment, the injury of any female or child of the enemy; and also offering a reward of 50 head of cattle for the capture of Dingaan, and of 25 head for that of the Zoola chief, Umslela, one of his great counsellors. These two, together with Tamboesa, then a captive in the emigrants camp, were the principals in the massacre of the whites, shortly after their first entering the Natal country.

On the afternoon of the 22d Jan., Mahowan, at the head of 254 warriors, arrived at the camp. These men were in their war dresses, those of the captains being extremely beautiful, and performed their evolutions in a manner that testified their high discipline. While marching, they all chanted words to the following effect—"We were dead, but through him, (pointing to the chief-commandant Pretorius), we are again alive,—we were sufferers under the bloodthirsty Dingaan, but can now with joyous songs, cheer the white men as our benefactors, and our righteous judges; we cheerfully go to battle with them, knowing we shall not go in vain; we shall soon enjoy in happiness with our families those days which we formerly had to pass in bitterness; Dingaan's greatness will soon disappear as snow before the sun; and then we shall live in peace under the protection of the white men."

While these people were on the spot, the captive chief, Tamboesa, was brought before them, on which the chiefs with one voice exclaimed, he must be put to death; he was the principle agent in causing to be shed the innocent blood of Retief, and those with him, and that afterwards he, Tamboesa, was with the attacking army, when the pregnant women and infants were indiscriminately butchered by the Zoola soldiery.

On Sunday, the 26th, the commando halted, the day being spent in devotional exercises. The chief commandant read to the assembly a suitable sermon, and the service closed by an affecting prayer by Mr. J. G. Vermaak.

The next day the commando marched about 24 miles, halting at the Washbank, (Sunday's River), and where they received several reports from the native forces in advance. These, though rather conflicting, yet went to shew that Dingaan was endeavoring to escape from the impending danger, but that the revolted chiefs were making the most strenuous efforts to prevent him. It was said that the former had divided his forces into two divisions, one of which was reserved for his own protection, while the other had marched to oppose the advance of his enemies. It was stated that Panda's officers, had also divided their forces into two columns, and by that means were endeavoring to keep both of Dingaan's divisions in check, until the arrival of the emigrants. The orders immediately dispatched forward were, that the native forces should only act on the defensive, at the same time keeping a watchful eye upon all the movements of the Zoolah army.

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Four patroles were immediately sent out, while a detachment of 100 men were directed to move forward, and to clear a pass for the passage of the wagons over the Honinberg (Honey Mountain). This was effected. At 8 o'clock the ascent of the mountain was commenced, and at noon the 60 wagons had safely descended on the opposite side to the plain, halting for the night at the Sand River. From that point to the Togala, the country appeared to be well calculated for sheep, its features being flat, dotted with thorn bushes, but with a scarcity of running water.

On the 29th, an hour before noon, the commando reached the Buffel's River. It was much swollen, but still the chief commandant directed the passage to be made without a moment's delay. This was safely accomplished, although the wagons were half under water. After halting for an hour on the left bank of the river, the march was resumed until 7 o'clock, when they reached the Blood River, so called from its being where the Zoolas army was defeated with such slaughter on the 16th Sept., 1838.

From this point the country was a wilderness, without any track to guide their further movements. Patroles were accordingly sent out in every direction, to ascertain the best and most direct line towards the rugged country in which Dingaan had sought refuge. About 5 o'clock, two messengers arrived from the native allied chiefs, bearing with them a flag, which had been furnished to them by the emigrant authorities, inscribed with the letters V. R. (meaning "Volksraad.") These messengers stated that Dingaan intended to seek refuge with the chief Mataalikatse, but that he could not do this without passing the Knob-nose Kafirs, and who would most probably destroy him. That he had taken refuge in a cave near his town, watching for an opportunity to escape to the Northward.

On the 31st, it was resolved to decide upon the fate of the captive counsellor, Tamboesa, and of a subordinate chief, named Cambasena, also a prisoner. Accordingly a council was convened, before which Panda and other captains were called to give evidence. These stated—that they all formerly resided in the vicinity of the Zoola capital while Tamboesa was in power, and were the witnesses of his actions; that they could solemnly swear before an omniscient God, whom they had learnt to know through the white men —before the sun—and before that assembly and the world, that all the deeds of blood perpetrated by Dingaan were with the express concurrence and by the advice of Tamboesa; that he incited that monster to destroy this or that kraal, with all their women and children, for the most trifling offences, and that it was through his influence that Retief and his compatriots were murdered, as also that the subsequent massacre was determined on of the defenceless women and children in the emigrants camp. Panda further stated, that, through the machinations of the prisoner, he himself had been

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seized, led to the place of execution, where he was about to be put to death, but from which he was delivered at the intercession of his mother, and which was effectual, by her being a step-mother to Dingaan.

The captive chief on being called on to reply, admitted the truth of what had been advanced, and also the justice of the fate which awaited him; nobly adding, that though *he* was willing to pay the penalty of his life for his many crimes, yet that Combezena, his fellow captive, was innocent, and did not deserve death. To this, however, Panda replied, that Combezena had been the chief instigator to the atrocities committed by Dingaan, by communicating false reports to him for the purpose of ingratiating himself in his favor.

The Chief Commandant, with the advice of the Court Martial, then proceeded to pass upon the two prisoners the awful sentence of —DEATH. He impressed upon their minds the awful fact, that after they should have undergone their sentence, they would appear before another Judge, but that they might escape eternal punishment if they would confess their crimes to Him, and heartily entreat His forgiveness. A few hours afterwards the two captives were conveyed to an adjacent spot and executed.

After this an emigrant, named Van der Venter, was arraigned, on the charge of having assaulted a young Englishman, named Howard. It was proved that he had grossly abused him, and also struck him several blows with his fist, and that Howard had in consequence been so exasperated as to seize his gun and to threaten to shoot his assailant. The accused pleaded Guilty, and prayed for a mitigation of punishment, with a promise of future good conduct. He hereupon received a pardon, the chief commandant informing him that, in the event of a breach of his promise, he should be sentenced to march hand-cuffed in the rear of the army. Howard was also reprimanded for having had recourse to his gun instead of applying to the Judges, who would have done him justice, and that any act of that nature in future would be construed into an intent to murder.

This day a report was received from Panda's division, to the effect that it was in full march after Dingaan, and that by that time there was little doubt the opposing forces would be engaged. Orders were immediately sent forward to keep the enemy employed, if possible, until the arrival of the emigrants, and who immediately resumed their march, until at 6 o'clock they reached the base of a chain of difficult mountains, and where they halted for the night.

The next morning patroles were sent out for the purpose of ascertaining the best pass over these mountains; and shortly afterwards a messenger arrived from Panda's division with the intelligence that the belligerants had actually engaged, and that the forces of Dingaan had been totally routed; that two regiments had

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been utterly destroyed, that a part of the third had revolted and come over to the allies, and that they had captured such immense droves of cattle, they could not tell how to herd them. The messenger further stated, that Dingaan had fled along the Pongola River, (200 miles to the north of his chief Town), with two regiments of his body guards, but that he was closely pursued by Nonklas.

It was resolved by the chief commandant that whatever the number of cattle captured, no more than 40,000 should be received by the emigrants, that being the amount of the demand made by the Volksraad, as indemnification for losses sustained through the treachery of the Zoola chief. It was further resolved to halt the army, and to send forward a detachment of 250 mounted men in pursuit of the enemy. That evening a drove of 600 of the captured cattle were brought to the camp, and the next day (Sunday, the 2d Feb.) a second, containing 2,400 head.

On the 3d, the chief commandant left the camp with 220 men, in quest of the enemy. After riding about an hour, a spy informed them that the retreating Zoolas had taken refuge on a ridge of an adjacent mountain, but on seeing their approach were endeavoring to escape. On this commandant Lombard and 25 light men were dispatched forward, while the rest followed as quickly as possible. Fortunately for the enemy, their movements were concealed by a dense mist, which completely covered the surrounding mountains and kloofs, and which enabled them to spread themselves out unobserved, and to take shelter in the numerous caves and deep fissures by which that mountain range is distinguished. Some of the emigrants approached them so close as to hear them call out one to another to fly, as the white men were upon them. Having in vain sought for the enemy in this cavernous tract of country, the emigrants returned to the camp the same evening.

The next day, a man, named F. M. Lingenfelder, was brought before the Court-martial on a charge of having sold wines without permission. An order was issued to seal up the casks containing these liquors, and also a positive prohibition against any further sale.

Feb. 5th.—A detachment of 250 mounted men, marched from the camp, in the direction taken by the routed enemy. They rode till night across a country intersected by numerous mountains, caverns, and ravines, fording at least a hundred different streams. They bivouacked at the foot of a mountain, keeping their horses saddled, and tied together in a circle to prevent surprise.

The next morning at sunrise, the march was resumed, continuing in the same direction for some distance, but discovering nothing of the enemy, they then shaped their course to the east, and shortly received information that some of the enemy had been seen to conceal themselves on the summit of an adjacent rock. The spot was

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immediately surrounded. The chief commandant then directed an interpreter to announce to those who had sought shelter in caves and fissures, that if they came forward without arms, their lives should be spared. None, however, accepting this offer of mercy, the commandant Lombard, with 25 men, was directed to enter their fastnesses, to shoot the men, but to spare the women and children. This hazardous duty was executed with great gallantry, but on three *Zoolas* being shot, the rest cried out for quarter; on which the firing ceased, and two Zoola men, a Knobnose Kafir, whom they had taken prisoners, and 50 women and children came forward. These prisoners were received, and treated with kindness, but about two hours afterwards, on the men attempting to escape they were shot as they fled to the caverns. The determination which was displayed by the emigrants in entering these caverns, and in attacking and securing the fugitives who had taken shelter in them, greatly astonished their Zoola allies; the chief Nonklass observing that they would have had no chance of driving them from such a situation. About 3 o'clock, in consequence of the unceasing rain, they were compelled to halt, selecting a deserted Zoola kraal, where they found abundance of maize, and upon which they regaled themselves. Here two Zoolas, accompanied by Nonklass, waited upon the chief commandant, for the purpose of interceding on behalf of two Zoola captains, named Quoana and Mapita. These chiefs were represented as being two of Dingaan's principal captains, and who it was said had long ago determined upon revolting from that despot, but that no opportunity had presented itself until the recent battle between him and Panda. They now wished to join the white men with all their people. The reply of the chief commandant was an assurance of his desire to shew mercy, and a request that the two captains might present themselves the next day, when they should be receiveed as subjects of the assembly, or incorporated with the people under Panda. They were told to enquire of that chief how he was treated, and who expressed in glowing terms the happiness he now enjoyed, when contrasted with the servility in which he lived under Dingaan, whom he never could approach, but creeping like a dog.

On the 8th Feb., they reached the Pongola, and of which they were enabled from a perpendicular rock to take, by the aid of a telescope, an extensive survey. It was about the size of the Togala, its banks being much encumbered with the mimosa. The country on this side of the River is extremely rugged, but on the other side it appeared flat to a distance, at least, of 12 miles. No information could be obtained respecting Dingaan, except that he had crossed that river five days before, with some of his wives and herdsmen, and had fled beyond his territories. No intelligence could be obtained of the main body of his forces, but some hundreds of stragglers were falling in with, all of whom begged for a

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country to live in, which was granted. It was said that Dingaan has not more than 100 men with him, who are fit to bear arms, and that his people are now so enraged that they threaten should he fall into their hands to tear him in pieces. This being the amount of the information obtained, and as the horse sickness had carried off ten horses, and threatened, should they proceed further, to do them great mischief, the chief commandant resolved to abandon the pursuit and to return back. He accordingly directed Nonklass to send him word, should anything be heard of Dingaan, and in which case he would send 100 men in pursuit. He then commenced the march back, the commando having with them 10,000 head of captured cattle.

On the evening of the 9th they reached the camp on the Black Umfilosa, a branch of the St. Lucia River. It was on Sunday, but from the heavy rain, which had fallen incessantly since the 5th, no public worship was observed. Domestic religion was, however, observed in the several tents, and from these the voice of thanksgiving was offered to the Almighty for their late victory, and for the prospect of lasting tranquility and prosperity.

On the 10th the chief commandant communicated to Panda, his high approbation of his conduct while he had been with the commando, as also of the good faith of Nonklaas. He also endeavored to impress upon these chiefs, that he attributed their success, not to their own might, but to an overruling Providence, in whose hands they had been made instrumental in punishing, and putting a stop to the dreadful cruelties and massacres of the Zoola chief. Addressing Panda, he informed him that he considered he had a rightful claim to that kingdom, and that, therefore, in the name of the Volksraad, he appointed him as *Chief or King of the Zoola people.* That in future he should be considered as their great ally, and his enemies would be considered as theirs, but that he would not be allowed to make war with other tribes without first obtaining their consent, and in which case he would be on all occasions assisted. Panda expressed his gratitude in suitable terms :—"*I can solemnly swear,*" said he, "*by all that exists, that I will ever remain faithful to you and to the government of the white people, and should any power attack you, I will on being apprised of it order my whole force to your assistance, and which shall, for your sake, if required, be sacrificed to a man.*" It is expected, that, when the scattered Zoolas are collected together under Panda, his force will amount to about 10,000 warriors

On the 11th February, two Zoolas arrived with a message from Nonklass, purporting that he was unable to gather any certain tidings respecting Dingaan, and that as he had not been able to collect any more cattle, he requested permission to return with his commando. This was acceeded to, and it was also resolved to

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move with all speed to Pietermauritzberg, as the horses were dying daily of the epidemic.

The 12th was rendered memorable by the death of a Hottenttot boy, who was wilfully shot by a person named Botha. He had quarrelled with a companion named Van der Schyff, who had struck him several blows. He parted in anger, and returned soon afterwards to the spot with his gun, and shot the Hottentot, who had, in the interim, laid himself down on the spot where he had left Van der Schyff. These facts being proved, it was ordered that, as the the Court Martial had no power to pass sentence for criminal offences, the prisoner should be sent hand-cuffed in charge of an escort to Pietermauritzberg, and there be delived over to the Civil Authorities. Lengenfelder, the person guilty of unlawfully selling wines, was also arraigned, and his case likewise referred to the Civil Authorities.

On the 14th, the Chief Commandant ordered the *National Flag* to be hoisted, and then in the presence of the whole army, caused the following Proclamation to be read by the Secretary at war :—

PROCLAMATION.

I, Andries Wilhelmus Jacobus Pretorius, Chief Commandant and Commanding General of all the Burghers of the Right Worshipful Volks-Raad of the South African Society of Port Natal, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army placed under my command by the Volks-Raad, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas the Volks-Raad of the South African Society, on account of the unprovoked war, which the Zoola King, or the Zoola nation have commenced against the South African Society, without previously declaring the same against them, was compelled to incur an expence of one hundred and twenty-two thousand and six hundred Rixdollars, for horse and wagon-hire and other expences of war; and whereas the Zoola King, according to all appearances and information, has deserted his territory, and crossed the Pongola River, (his boundary), and his remaining people conceal themselves in many directions, so that there is no person to whom I can apply for payment of these enormous expences; Be it hereby made known that for the recovery of said one hundred and twenty two thousand six hundred Rixdollars, I do hereby Proclaim and make known, that in the name of said Volks-Raad of the South African Society, *I seize all the land, from the Togala to the Umfilosa Umjana, (the Black River,) and that our boundary shall in future be, from the sea along the Black River, where it runs through the double mountains, near to where it originates, and so on along the Randberg, in the same direction to the Draakberg including the St. Lucias Bay, as also all sea coasts and harbours, which have already been discovered, or which may hereafter be discovered, between the Umsimvoboo and Black River mouths.* These lands and sea coasts,

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will, however, have to be considered the property of the Society, exclusive from that, which the late Mr. Retief obtained from the Zoola nation for our Society.

GOD SAVE THE VOLKS-RAAD!

Given under my hand, in my Camp, at the Umfilosa Umjama, or the Black River, on this the 14th day of February, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty.

(Signed) A. W. J. PRETORIUS,
Chief Commandant.

As Witnesses:
H. J. LOMBARD,
JACOBUS POTGIETER,
ANDRIES SPIES,
MARTHINUS SCHEPERS,
} Commandants.

After this a salute of 21 guns was fired in honor of the Volksraad, and a general "Hurra!" was given throughout the whole army,—while all the men, as with one voice, called out, "Thanks to the Great GOD, who, by his grace, has given us the victory!"

After this ceremony, the march was resumed to the white Umfilosa, the commando having with them 31,000 head of cattle.

After halting one day on account of the rain, the march was resumed to the Tamboes River, where, in the evening, they were joined by the Native Chiefs, Joob Mattowan, and Nonklass.

The following day a general Court Martial was held to hear the reports of these chiefs, and to consider their conduct. Nonklass, it was admitted, had conducted himself well, and had exerted himself to take Dingaan, he having pursued him to a distance of 30 miles beyond the Pongala River, where he had captured Dingaan's mother. With respect, however, to the other two chiefs, it was proved that they had not only secreted several thousands of cattle which had been taken from the enemy, but that they had caused several Mantatees to be murdered, cutting off the lips of others, and then leaving them to their fate. The Chief Commandant, highly indignant, informed the culprits, that he should send them both to Pietermauritzberg, to be dealt with there by the Civil Authorities. Joob immediately on hearing this, dispatched a message to his father, entreating that the cattle secreted by him at his kraal, might be sent to the camp.

On the 20th, after travelling for the two preceding days in heavy rain, during which the passage of the Buffels' River had been made with extreme difficulty when greatly swollen, and with the loss of several oxen which were drowned, the Honey Mountain was recrossed, and the Washbank reached the same night. The next day the Chief Commandant granted a long interview to the captain of the Mantatees, who detailed to him the atrocities committed upon his

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people by Mattowan. The Chief Commandant assured him of his protection, and, in consideration of his people having been plundered of their property, he promised to present them with a troop of cattle, and also to grant them a tract of country for their future residence.

On the 24th February, the Chief Commandant apportioned 14,000 head of cattle for those persons who, having been plundered of all their property by Dingaan, were living on the West side of the Draakberg. The remaining 22,000 were to be driven to Pietermauritzberg, there to be delivered over to the four commissioners appointed to receive them, for the purpose of distributing them among those who had been despoiled of their live stock by the now conquered Zoola chief.

The situation of affairs, after the fortunate termination of hostilities, is thus stated in a letter from Natal, addressed to a gentleman in Cape Town:—

Dear Sir and Friend,—For the present I have not much to communicate to you, but being assured, that you, as well as all my other fellow countrymen and friends, are particularly anxious to hear any news from this place, I give you the following.

Every fieldcornet is at present in the field, with two impartial witnesses, for the purpose of inspecting our farms; this goes on quietly and little or no difference occurs in this respect; things go on better than I imagined. I do not think that the extent of the places will be 10 morgen short of 3,000 each. Dingaan has, according to repeated authentic communications, vanished like smoke, by the swords of the several tribes of the people of Sapoesa. All the Kafir tribes shew the greatest respect towards us, and call our Government by no other name than Father. Nonklaas has been here at the last meeting of the Assembly (Volksraad) to renew his oath of fidelity. This very Zoolah nation, which formerly was *against* us as a consuming fire, has now become a battery *for* us, and a strong rampart of defence. We have the greatest assurance that for the future we may calculate upon ten thousand brave men, in case of any attack against us. Nonklaas also bitterly complains that the Bushmen and Port Natal Kafirs, who reside among us, have on several occasions demanded from them large herds of cattle in the name of our Government, or of the white people, and have also taken them by force; and as they the Zoolahs were afraid to get into a scrape with us, they have suffered those rogues to proceed with impunity; and Nonklaas now came hither to complain. The Assembly clearly convinced of such conduct by several witnesses and much dissatisfied at it, transmitted to Panda a token, with an order that should any Kafirs again come in our name, and commit any irregularities within his jurisdiction, without such token, im-

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mediately to punish them with death, or should any of our whites make themselves guilty of such conduct, to cause them to be apprehended, bound, and sent hither, under the escort of a guard, that they may be punished according to our laws without any pardon. The Assembly also resolved to cause the Gospel to be propagated among the Zoolahs, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Lindly, and that the American Missionaries, to be approved of by the Volksraad, should be accompanied by two members of the Assembly, for the purpose of recommending them to him. The Rev. Gentlemen will positively be protected by our Government.

What are our African Ministers about, that they will not come amongst us?—Have these reverend gentlemen no national feeling; or do they perhaps think they will not have sufficient here for their maintenance?—If they think this they are in error. Let them say what annual salary they expect, or what we must pay them, and they will clearly experience the generous feeling of our Emigrants for the cause of God and Christ.—Is it possible that our much-beloved African Ministers do not feel themselves inspired to establish themselves amongst us? Do they not think on Jonah, who was to go to Nineveh? Do they not think on the Apostles and Christians, who, in spite of all opposition, have propagated the Gospel from land to land? But then, my friend, do they not also think that we, who are also creatures of God, require the Sacrament of Christ? No! no! my fellow countrymen, our unemployed South African Ministers, attached with me to our National Church, will, I am sure, glorify the Almighty for its prosperity. Will not the so much recommended Mr. Albertyn establish himself amongst us? Will no other Ministers come towards us? at present we can employ three, and within a short time more. Our population daily increases. This cause of religion, however, I cannot sufficiently speak of. Many, many children await their baptism, also one of my own, 7 months old; many youths, to become members of the Church of Christ, and many old members, for the Holy Sacrament. Do use your influence to obtain for us the advantage of having Ministers; and they will not only be received here with open arms, but will experience every accommodation and attachment from their communities. I could enlarge on this cause for another hour, on account of myself and fellow Emigrants, but this will take you too long.

On Monday, the 22d inst., 60 erven (in part of an adopted plan) will be sold in the intended town of Port Natal; and in the intended village at Bushman's River, 300 erven will be given out. This village will be called Weenen (Weeping), or perhaps Lyden (Suffering) which the Assembly will yet have to decide. This is to commemorate the never to be forgotten bloodshed, massacres, and indescribable miseries, which our peaceable emigrants experienced at that place.

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This village will be plentifully supplied with water, which will be led out of the Bushman's River; whilst the overflowing Umgana River will also be able to refresh every piece of ground in the town of Natal. The Chief Commandant had a dispute here with one of the members of the Council, about which the public was much displeased. This dispute is now, however, settled. The officers and government servants had a general supper and ball on the 3d inst. Under a repeated discharge of cannon, the unanimous cry of "*Unity for ever!*" was really gratifying. Our whole generation of Emigrants is now as one man. As long as they exist they will be united as they now are, and, determined against the boldest attacks, fight to the very last moment to defend each other.

I perceive from your paper that a rumour is afloat in the interior, that we were all destroyed by the Pandans; let no one cajole you into a belief, that any heathen tribe can destroy us, except Providence should so ordain it. Though we know little about politics, we, however, know enough to foresee threatening dangers. On our last commando we had our camps secured with good pallisades, according to the limited stratagem which our officers possess, and every camp properly manned, for the purpose of resisting any attack. The title of Chief Commandant is now changed into that of Commandant General, for Mr. Pretorius. I would not advise any vessel to come to this place with any contageous disease, as our Harbor Master may not allow any such vessel to anchor, as you will perceive from the accompanying Instructions for that Officer, which are, in my opinion, very proper.

Our agriculturists have proved themselves very industrious this year; they have sown a large quantity of wheat, barley, and oats, all of which have a very promising aspect. This year we shall be able, more or less, to try the capability of our lands. Land daily increases in value here. Farms are sold here for from 3 to 4,000 Rds., and even uncultivated erven to Rds. 500. I trust that these simple communications will satisfy the anxiety of my fellow countrymen for the present, and in that hope I am, with the greatest respect. Your friend, ———.

Faithful to the interest of the Colony, and to the honor of the nation which had sent them out to people and improve its conquests at the Cape, the British settlers of 1820, in the person of the local Journalist, put forth his and their opinions of the duty of the supreme government towards the emigrants at Natal, and the Colonists who still clung to the hope that that government would retrace its retrograde movement:—

If the Home Government has any true sympathy for this colony—a point which we confess is, in our opinion, very problemati-

cal,—the condition of the several tribes adjacent to its land boundaries will engage its most attentive consideration.

The mock benevolence which insists, as a principle, on non-interference with the barbarous natives of countries where British colonies have been established, has at last been exploded, and hence the true principles of colonization begin to be understood and acted upon accordingly. The population of the world is rapidly increasing; this multiplication of the human species renders it necessary that the earth should be more extensively cultivated for their sustenance, and hence the teeming cities of Europe are pouring out their myriads and dispersing them in every country where the soil remains unbroken and the wilderness is unreclaimed.

It is not to be denied that this process has, in many cases, been attended with crying injustice and sometimes with the most flagrant inhumanity. But still this militates but very partially against the general principle. Take, for instance, the case of the United States of America, and will any one stand forth and contend that the interests of humanity and the advantage of the world at large have not been essentially advanced by the colonization of that immense country? Making large deductions for all the evils which have been experienced there since Columbus first placed his foot upon the soil of that country, three centuries and a half ago, yet we maintain that the benefits which have accrued to the world at large, have in the aggregate had an amazing preponderance.

But it may be said in reference to this colony—and indeed it is said—if these opinions be held and acted on, nothing in reference to boundary will ever be determinate. To this we answer—nor in the present condition of the population ought it to be so. Colonization is the march of mankind, and every civilized government will, if it act wisely, head and guide the movement, and not linger sluggishly and indifferently in the rear. The act of the British Legislature, in making the commission of offences, as far as the 25th degree of south latitude, cognizable before the colonial courts, is, in practice, a gross absurdity. It would have been much more to the purpose had the government, instead of this namby-pamby sort of legislation, assumed at once jurisdiction over that region, and had permitted of its colonization under wholesome restrictions. As it is, anarchy reigns throughout that vast territory, injustice is perpetrated with impunity, and a *slave trade* is carried on under the very nose, as it were, of that government which, in other quarters, has made such large sacrifices to suppress it. In some parts the power which should be held by the British government is exercised by a few missionaries, who endeavor to reduce the chaotic elements around them to something like order, nor have they altogether failed in their efforts; as where their influence has been extended murder and plunder, which before reigned in their worst forms without control, have been greatly mitigated. But where this partial influence has not

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yet been felt, the natives, like the savage beasts of the wilderness, roam abroad but to destroy. Tribe is opposed to tribe in deadly hostility, and some of the fairest spots in nature, capable of affording sustenance to many thousands of mankind, have been steeped in blood and present at this day, in the whitened human bones with which they are strewed, the appearance of a huge charnel-house.

There may have existed very cogent reasons why, heretofore, it would have been impolitic for the British government to have taken upon itself any responsibility in respect to this country or the people who inhabit it; but let this be as it may, the time has now arrived when its interference has become a positive duty. Thousands of *British subjects* have taken up their abode there, and the interests of humanity, the security of the colony, and the welfare of all demand and call loudly for immediate interference.

Every day this intervention is delayed the evils become greater in number and more intense in degree. Who does not perceive that if the government had taken formal possession of Natal when prayed for ten years ago, that the extensive emigration of the Dutch farmers from this colony which has since taken place would have been altogether avoided?—a step which has been attended with such extensive loss and peril to this colony, with so many fearful disasters to the emigrants, and with such destruction of life both to them and to the natives with whom they have come into collision. The apathy with which the government views this state of affairs is to us most surprising, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that it has other matters, of no less moment, pressing upon its attention nearer home. The state of the Canadas, of Ireland, and indeed, of the United Kingdom, is such as to engross almost exclusively that regard, which the more extended and minute parts of the empire should share in common with those which are more proximate, and, therefore, held to be more important.

Still it is the duty of those who are suffering from the neglect complained of to keep the subject constantly before the government, and to bring to bear upon it the force and light of public opinion. It should be sounded in the ears of our rulers until they listen thereto, that their apathy towards this colony, and indifference in the matter complained of, are perilling the lives and property of a large proportion of the inhabitants of this province, and that every day the remedy is withheld the evil is increasing both in magnitude and virulence. It should be distinctly made known that the semi-barbarous tribes that, partly through missionary influence, have been kept together, and that preserve among them some kind of governing power, will ere long become formidable to this colony; that they now truckle to the colonial government from a salutary fear of its power, but that this moral force is rapidly diminishing—whilst it is but too evident that towards the colonists themselves they cherish anything but friendly feelings. It may be added also that their

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power is constantly augmenting by defection from the colony. Like the CAVE of ADULLAM, the country beyond the N. E. boundary is a refuge for every one that is in distress, for every one that is in debt and for every one that is discontented. At this moment there are many persons residing not far beyond the limits of the colony who owe considerable debts to inhabitants of this and the neighboring districts, but who, having crossed the line of demarcation, still keep up intercourse with the colony and enjoy absolute impunity in thus defrauding their well-known and, in many cases, acknowledged creditors.—*Graham's Town Journal, 5th March*, 1840.

Mr. Saxe Banister, a somewhat erratic politician, but still possessing considerable good sense, put forth a pamphlet in England at the beginning of the year on the subject of Natal. Deducting much for theoretical views there are several important points in his *brochure* worthy of preservation:—

Every acre of the country, (says he), becomes Crown-land upon its acquisition by a British subject. If the Government adopt it—the declaration of independence proclaimed by the emigrants is, in law, null. In all respects, the Administration of Natal will be conveniently made entirely independent of the Cape of Good Hope. The distance of the two places from each other, is a sufficient reason for separation; and such an arrangement will greatly facilitate the reconciliation of the emigrants with us. They are known to be well disposed to the British already settled on the spot, who have declared firmly their determination to preserve the British connection; so that if the Queen shall be now advised to exhibit a prudent vigor in adopting the proposed Colony, the opportunity of promoting tranquility in South Africa—offered by the wish of the emigrants to settle at Natal—can hardly fail of leading to great good, which should not be thrown away. Treated with wise indulgence, it is not rash to say, they will prefer a friendly settlement of their discontent, to hazarding all by an unreasonable perseverance in their declared independence; and, priding themselves in a new and good position by a reconciliation with us, they will not be the last to carry into practice the philanthropic views which so honorably distinguish the times.

If (says he) the acquisitions made at Natal be rejected by the Crown, and the proposed Colony be not established there, the probable disastrous results may be told in a few words. The Cape Dutch emigrants will be masters of the whole Eastern Country; and, without speculating on the fate of the British settlers, who have declared their intention to maintain the British connection—the alliance to be made by the new Republic with some of the natives, and its wars with others, already in hostility with the emigrants—cannot fail to bring alarming confusion on our frontiers. If no

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foreign civilized power is likely, at present, to accept the country from the Cape Dutch, the disposition would not be wanting, in a future war, to assail us by such an union; and new adventurers will easily be found in Europe, or America, to throw themselves into a defensible post, upon the chances of distinction or gain. The Buccaneering—which a Committee of the House of Commons, last year only, declared may be expected to break out in the South Seas—may, by no remote possibility, have establishments on the coasts of Madagascar, and be no unwelcome visitors at Natal."

It is, however, astonishing beyond all measure, that what was considered common sense as regarded another Colony, precisely situated as this, *except* that *its emigrant farmers* had no wrongs to complain of, but were determined to plunge into the wilderness, the property of savage men, and which they had no more right to enter than our African Dutch subjects had to cross the Orange River, should be so dissimilarly treated. Lord Glenelg, whose mischievous control over this unlucky settlement is so sensibly felt, thus addresses himeslf in 1836 to the Governor of New South Wales:—

It is wholly vain to expect that any positive laws will be energetic enough to repress the spirit of enterprise and speculation in which the unauthorised settlements of Port Philip and Twofold Bay have originated. The motives which are urging men to break through the restraints upon their settling themselves and their families in such situations, are too strong to be encountered with effect by ordinary means. *To engage in such a struggle would be wholly irrational.* All that remains for the Government is to assume the *guidance* of enterprise, which it may conduct to happy results, though it cannot prevent or retard them.

To return to Natal.—Dingaan, chased by his enemies, the boers, who knew there was no rest while he remained alive or in power, was in his retreat at last slain by the Amasuroe, a tribe living in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay, with whom he had for years been in constant conflict.

About this time several of the Natal settlers visited the Colony, and in conversation with them it was gathered that there was a latent disposition to re-connect themselves with England on friendly terms, but that the negociations to that end must be conducted with much tact and discretion, and the

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mission entrusted to persons of acknowledged influence, in whom unlimited confidence could be placed. They named as such Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Col. Smith, who would gladly be received as Commissioners, but on suggesting Captain Stockenstrom they instantly deprecated the bare thought, and expressed a fear of personal danger after his evidence against his own countrymen and his subsequent mischievous administration. They urged that, in case a British force should land at Natal for the purpose of coercian, it would be useless; for that the farmers, if they found resistance impossible, would retire beyond the mountains, and, to use their own forcible expression, "*for Africa was both long and broad enough*," and that they would there form an independent state. They also added, "even should you send us persons to negotiate, in whom we have confidence, what security have we, after we have surrendered our present real independence, that your vacillating government will ratify the pledges of its own commissioners?"

The population of the whole Colony at this period, by the official census—if census it can be called—for it is well known it is underrated by many thousands, but the *poor* government of the Colony could not afford the expense of ascertaining the numbers of its subjects—or perhaps dreading the punishment that once awaited the Israelitish King, David, feared to number its people—or anxious not to distress its paid functionaries, the Civil Commissioners and their subordinates, the Field-Cornets, who could readily afford, with little trouble, the important information—the number of the population, under this neglectful state of the government records, was estimated at 140,000, *one twelfth* of which it was now publicly stated had left its paternal sway for the interior, and thêre inflicted, in self-defence, the penalty of death on above 10,000 of the natives, the peculiar protegés of the inventors, administrators, and admirers of the benevolent Glenelg-Stockenstrom system!

The sufferers within the Colony, who still remained with unshaken loyalty, may perhaps be considered as likely to look on with complacency at the state of affairs at Natal, as they

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only realized their own predictions of the result of measures which they had all along deprecated. But such is not the case; for, although they cannot help sympathizing with their misguided countrymen, they shew by their own lofty bearing of *endurance,* that they look to the time when the chain shall be broken, and the vulture scared away which has long preyed upon them, and that fair and constitutional remonstrance will have its effect. Whatever may be their views on this subject, there were, however, others reflected from remote regions, which, doubtless, have aided in steeling the minds of the recusant farmers at Natal to their present resistance. The *Sydney Herald,* of March, 1840, thus speaks of the Natal emigrants, and although the language used is strong, there is unhappily much truth in the observations which its editor felt bound to make:—

In one noble instance, however, they, (the present Whig Ministry,) have been signally defeated. Need we name the Port Natal affair. Do they think that there is not to be found a mine of instruction in the noble conduct of those who have now, by the force of their energy, and the might of their resolve, established themselves as an independent people? Do they think that such a lesson will be disregarded? *The emigrants wanted nothing but protection from the plunders, the burnings, and the butcheries of the savages.* Their representations were replied to with insult and slander; urged on by all the influence which canting hypocrisy could command. They remonstrated—they remonstrated over and over again—they protested that all they desired was impartial enquiry: but their wrongs were unheeded, their sufferings disregarded. One-sided evidence alone was taken and published, the tendency of which was to heap odium upon the colonists wherever it found its way. The decided step was at length taken, and proved successful. Honor to the brave settlers at Port Natal!

It has been already observed, as well as admitted by all parties, that the departure of the farmers was never clandestine, being generally preceded by declarations of the causes of removal, and of their intentions when once over the border. The farms and stock offered by them, previous to their abandonment, were generally advertised on the usual places for

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such announcements, as well as in the papers. The undisguised manner, in which these notices were made, will appear from the annexed advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* by no mean farmer, but one who could offer two fine farms, with numerous buildings, a mill, a large flock of improved woolled sheep, and a herd of 150 Fatherland cattle. And this man was preparing to join those who had already unfurled the Flag of Independence:—

DEPARTURE TO NATAL.

IMPORTANT SALE.

Mr. Peter Hendrick Kritzenger, desirous of removing from the Colony, to join his friends at the new Dutch settlement, will put up at Auction for public competition, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 12th and 13th of August next, the whole of his landed and other property in this District, consisting ot *Two Farms*, the first being his present Residence, and now under complete cultivation, generally known as the "Church Place," distant about 50 miles from Port Elizabeth," on the Gamtoos River side, along the main road to Cape Town, reputed healthy for Sheep-grazing; has several convenient Buildings, including a very superior overshot-mill, erected thereon; also possessing a productive Garden, fenced by a strong wall. This property, in point of situation too (on a most pleasant eminence, embracing an extensive view of the surrounding country, and ocean beyond) can scarcely be excelled.

The 2nd.—A grazing Farm, exclusively sweet grass, in the neighbourhood of the former, known by the name of "Drooge Kloof." A flock of 5th and 6th Cross-Breeding-Sheep, 150 head of Fatherland Cattle, Household Furniture, Farming Implements, &c. &c.

R. A. STRETCH, Auctioneer.

Uitenhage, June 24th, 1840.

"Line upon line, and precept upon precept," and warning followed warning in quick succession—but, like Gallio of old, the government "cared not for these things." The unlooked-for triumphs of the farmer were brought out in their fullest colors to the knowledge of the authorities, and the results, which the philanthropists pretended so much to dread, were predicted as the natural consequences of the apathy and the folly of Government refusing to recognize Natal.

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"But what need have we to advert to the *future*, when the *past* already furnishes so instructive a lesson? For instance, is not the Government aware that 12,000 of the old inhabitants of this Colony have abandoned it? That they have crossed the boundary from an avowed dislike to British rule? That they have carried with them a deep conviction of having suffered wrong, and of the hopelessness of expecting that wrong ever to be redressed by those who, as they conceive, have inflicted it?

Surely the Government must be aware of these facts, notorious as they are, and if so, then we ask in the name of common sense, why has not some measure, corresponding to the exigency, been taken to counteract the evil? We defy any one to give a satisfactory reply to this question, still less to assign a sufficient reason for the continuance of that supineness of which we now complain. Does the Government not know that the Emigrants, since they crossed the boundary of the Colony have utterly destroyed the power of the two most potent Chieftains of South East Africa—that they have subjugated numerous tribes, and possessed themselves of an immense extent of rich and valuable territory, and that in their numerous conflicts, not less than 10,000 of the natives, at a very low computation, have been utterly destroyed. If they affect not to know this, we now place it upon record for the especial information of those concerned, and we not only tell them of what *has* happened, but we hazard a prediction as to what will shortly follow.

But the mischief will not consist *alone* in the evil tendency of example, but in overt acts of that substantive character as will make the Government *feel* that they have trifled with this subject too long, either for their own repose, or for the welfare of this Colony—still less, for that of those native tribes, for whom so much regard has been expressed, and for whom, we may add, such great and important sacrifices have been made. The Government may not perhaps be aware, that the great body of the Emigrants have quitted this colony, keenly sensible of the unrequited injuries which they have received from the Kafir tribes on its borders; that burning with indignation, not merely at the refusal of their own Government to redress those injuries, but on the contrary—at the direct encouragement which has been given to the spoliators—smarting under the unfounded calumnies which have been heaped upon them—the injured parties,—they have all along cherished with ardor the idea of being one day in circumstances to avenge their own cause. Does the Government know that there are some streaks in our political horizon which indicate the dawn of that long anticipated day? If not, let the following points be carefully pondered.—The emigrants are now perfectly free from all apprehension of attack from any of the native tribes. There is not a tribe around them which they have not the power to exterminate; a fact, of which the native chiefs are

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so sensible, that they have become their most subservient vassals: Here then the emigrants have possessed themselves of *means*—thanks to the maudlin policy of our late rulers—*which may ere long shake Southern Africa to its centre.* Should the Emigrants direct their attention to Kafirland, the doom of that country is sealed; and nothing will save it but the interference of a large British force. But even if the Government were willing to furnish such aid, could they spare it?—and even then would it not be very doubtful whether the ruin would not be complete before any force could be collected sufficient to oppose the inroad? NO BURGHER FORCE FROM THIS COLONY WILL BE INDUCED TO AID IN ANY SUCH UNDERTAKING: Ill requited as the inhabitants have been for their forbearance towards the Kafirs under repeated outrages—smarting from the contumely with which they have been assailed for shielding them aforetime against their enemies—they will never be brought again to oppose themselves to what they will consider as simply an act of righteous retribution. To effectually sweep Kafirland, the emigrants need not fire a musket, or employ a man of their own number. They need but send for their vassal, Panda, the Zoola King—point him to the flocks and herds in Kafirland,

Cry havoc!
And let slip the dogs of War;

and that ill-fated country would be speedily and inevitably ravaged from the Umzimvoobo to the Keeskamma, and from the Quathlamba Mountains to the sea. Three thousand Zoola warriors would drive the whole Kafir nation before them like stricken deer—and the consequence would be, that that safety would be sought in the Colony, which the mountains and kloofs of Kaffraria would fail to afford against a Zoola army.—*Graham's Town Journal*, *30th July*, 1840.

The farmers, now released from the dread of the Zoolahs, began to extend the sphere of their occupation, and projected, as was foreseen, extensive establishments west of Natal and *towards* the Kafirs. The refusal of the British Government to accept the willing allegiance of the Kafir tribes under the benevolent system of Sir B. D'Urban, which re-plunged that people into all the horrors of barbarity and superstition, thus cost us the allegiance of our own subjects, and the neglect in recognizing Natal as a British settlement, was the means of sweeping into eternity thousands of the benighted heathen, with numerous victims of our own race.

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The annexed journal shows the state of the matter with the Boers, up to the 24th June :—

Depredations of horses and cattle take place from time to time, which are probably committed jointly by the Bushmen and Kafirs, assisted by Synkanjalie.

Ten days ago, the Bushmen and Kafirs stole in one night all the bullocks of 10 wagons, and from a certain Van der Merwe 10 horses. The people having outspanned at the Bushman's River, sent their cattle out grazing; and when they wished to put their oxen before the wagons in the morning, not a single bullock was to be found out of the 225.—They followed the traces of about 40 people who had driven them off.—Yesterday a man came here, who had been sent by them, to hire 10 teams of oxen, which they of course received.—These people come from behind the Draakberg to establish themselves here:—People daily come hither, not only from behind the Draakberg, but also from the interior. Lately{four persons arrived here, residing in George and in other Districts, being Messrs. J. Groenewald, Van der Nest, Raubenheimer, and Schoeman, to look at this country; they find everything beyond their expectations. The country is beautiful, and they like it very much. —They have not only promised to return, but to bring with them hundreds of people, and have also bought several places here. With the exception of Mr. ———, these gentlemen have returned to the interior, accompanied by Mr. Isaac van Niekerk. As to our Government, it is constituted of a Council of 24 members, who meet once every month.—Mr. Zietsman sits every Monday as Landdrost.

Nonklaas has been with us for a considerable time accompanied by 19 men. He is a man of good and warlike appearance; he brought with him the 1,400 head of cattle, and also had messages from Panda to the Council, principally to receive orders how to deal with the Bushmen and other Kafirs, such as Sinkanjalie, Kapaay, Faco, and Joab, as these different chiefs, though not powerful, plague them continually by depredations which they commit among Panda's Kafirs. The Council has given a satisfactory answer to Nonklaas, and told him, that our Commandant Pretorius would order the Bushmen Kafirs, who reside around us in the mountains, &c., to hire themselves amongst us as servants, or to go and reside in a country far from us, to be pointed out to them by the Council, whereby Panda, and we ourselves, shall be relieved of such burthensome and dangerous neighbours. The heroic fire of the noble and courageous warrior, Nonklaas, glittered in his manly eyes, when he received orders to bring the glad tidings to his king, thanking Mr. Pretorius and the Council for their effective assistance against their enemy. After having been amongst us for fourteen days, Nonklaas

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and suite again returned to Panda, taking with him a few presents from the Council for him.

Everything is now quiet;—every one is busy building, ploughing, and sowing.—The number of people increases more and more; although the population of Pietermauritzburg is not so numerous as before, as every person now considering himself safe, has repaired to his farm, and particularly many persons have gone to the Omcomaas, the Omguinie, the Umzimvooboo, and Eoro Rivers. Building goes on regularly at Pietermauritzburg. Most of the houses which are now regularly built and inhabited are those of ———— and several houses are almost ready, which latter ———— bought at the last sale for Rds. 2,575. The erven become excessively dear, particularly those situate in the vicinity of, or in town; for instance the erven of ———— are not for sale for less than Rds. 1600.

The people are proceeding, one after the other, to their farms. Those who have been on the late commando, under Commandant Cobus Uys, against the Bushmen Caffers, have discovered towards the S. West, far beyond the Rivers Omcomaas and Omsimculo, a fine country, fertile beyond all description, and abounding in game, where a new village will be established, some parts of which have already received names, such as Oliphant's Hoek, Oliphant's Kop &c.

The disputes between the friends of Maritz and Pretorius have been settled, and peace and tranquility perfectly restored. It would be an excellent thing if many mechanics were to come hither, as they are scarce. Living is not dear here—a wether costs 5 Rds., a cow 10, a bullock 25, and a muid of maize 5 to 6 Rds. The erven are very dear—from 600, 800, to 1,000 Rds., for those which are situated in the village. Building goes on rapidly; and should we be left unmolested, everything will soon flourish. The crops look very well,—it is also the intention to erect a fortification on the mountain in the mouth of the bay, in order (in case of necessity) to keep the bar clear.

"The Stockenstrom System" or "New Kafir Policy", which had driven away so large a portion of our best, wealthiest, and most valuable population, was now destined to receive some heavy blows from the Colonial sufferers on our frontier, whose representations upon the subject of their wrongs, forcibly confirm all that the expatriated Natal farmers had declared to be their tendency and operation. In August the *Dutch* inhabitants of the Winterberg, unable to endure the repeated and unprovoked assaults of the Kafir people,

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addressed a memorial to the Lieut.-Governor, threatening to abandon the Colony for the same reasons, which had induced their fellow countrymen to take the same step, unless redress was afforded; and the *English*, in their vicinage, in the following September, found themselves also forced to adopt a similar course, and employ equally strong language:—

MEMORIAL OF THE DUTCH INHABITANTS OF THE KOENAP, WINTERBERG, FISH RIVER, &c.

To His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Memorial of Jeremias D. Nell, and others residing in the Field-cornetcies of the Fish River, Konap, and Winterberg, humbly sheweth,—

That being residents on the frontier at the commencement of the Kafir war, we were plundered of our cattle and other property, and most of our dwellings reduced to ashes by the Kafirs on the one side, and our cattle taken forcible possession of by the Colonial Government on the other, for both of which we were solemnly promised compensation by the Colonial Government, but which promises have never been fulfilled.

We are aware that since the war the Government has been at immense expense in endeavoring to secure the frontier, for which, however utterly futile those endeavors have been, we nevertheless desire to express our gratitude.

Respecting the treaties made by government with the Kafir chiefs, your Honor is better acquainted with their bearings and conditions than we are. We confess ourselves to be *but ignorant Boers*, and as such it is that we humbly enquire of your Honor,—*by whom have the treaties been broken? Have they been violated by us, by the government, or the Kafirs?* And if your Honor will honor us with a reply to another query, we would ask—*has the government done what they declared they would do in the event of the Kafir chiefs not complying with their own treaties?*

We now inform your Honor that we are not in a position to comply with that part of the treaty which requires our flocks and herds to be guarded by armed herdsman. We cannot obtain a sufficiency of servants, and those we do casually obtain, do what they choose, and leave us when they will, and perhaps with the very arms which the treaty obliges us to furnish them with. When we were better able to protect our cattle the Kafirs succeeded in committing depredations on them to a great extent; how much more alarming and ruinous must be that extent, now so many barriers to the commis-

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sion of like depredations have been removed, and our means of protecting them are more circumscribed—we leave your Honor to judge. *It is utterly impossible for us to remain longer on the frontier, unless some change in the system immediately takes place. It has become an imperative duty we owe to our wives and families to leave a country where we are not adequately protected, while we still have a remnant of our property left.*

Should we be compelled to this final and irretrievable step, we trust we shall not be stigmatised as rebels to the authority of our gracious Sovereign. We have ever been faithful and obedient subjects; complying, in every instance, with every requisition from government, and it will be with heavy hearts that we leave our beloved Fatherland. We hope it will not be said, after our departure, that we deserted our government—but that our government deserted us, in not affording us that protection which alone binds a people to it.

The small number of cattle left us, at the conclusion of the war, has been gradually dwindling away; the Kafirs have got them nearly all. They, who but a few years since had few or no horses of their own, are now to be seen with their wives and children on horseback, while the right owners, who have served their country with fidelity, are obliged to go on foot, without even a hope of any interference in their behalf.

We confidently appeal to your Honor, as being within your own knowledge, that we have lodged complaints in your office, and in the office of subordinate functionaries, of cattle stolen by the Kafirs, traced across the boundary and every condition of the treaty complied with, by which, when fulfilled, the Kafir chiefs solemnly bound themselves to give compensation within one month after such robbery. And yet months and years have elapsed, during which time we have tired you with our remonstrances, without its being in your power to grant us redress. We humbly, and respectfully, submit that justice can alone be done by, not only immediate compensation, but also paying us interest from the time such compensation became due, together with reasonable expenses for the many fruitless journeys made into Kafirland, and also to Graham's Town, for the purpose of enforcing our just claims.

In conclusion we respectfully beg your Honor will inform us, if you can comply with our request for compensation, and if there is any hope of the treaties being altered? *Should it, unfortunately, not be in your power to afford us that redress, so justly our due, we shall be obliged, however reluctantly, and at whatever risk, to resort to measures, which must be as unpleasant for a paternal government to contemplate, as for ourselves to execute.*

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MEMORIAL OF THE ENGLISH INHABITANTS OF THE MANCAZANA AND KONAP RIVERS, &c,

To His Honor Colonel John Hare, C.B., K.H., &c. &c. &c., the Memorial of the undersigned, inhabitants of the neighborhood of the Mancazana and Konap rivers, respectfully sheweth:—

That Memorialists have been long laboring under the numerous disadvantages arising from the difficulty of fulfilling the conditions imposed upon them by the present treaties, and from the want of any efficient protection to their lives and property from the incessant and daring attacks of the native tribes residing beyond the boundaries.

They more especially complain of that article of the treaty which requires them to trace the spoor of stolen cattle to the boundary, before they can demand compensation for their loss. This they beg to represent to be in many cases impossible. The Kafirs generally commence their depredations previous to rain, or when the grass is sufficiently long and dry to burn freely: a heavy fall of the former, or the conflagration of the latter, will equally obliterate the spoor and render pursuit unavailing.

They would further represent that even when most successful in the pursuit, the farmer does not obtain any adequate compensation for his loss, the extent of which is not to be estimated merely by the number of cattle of which he has been plundered. The interruption given by his absence to the agricultural operations of his farm, is often of as much consequence as the value of the stolen cattle.

Memorialists wish also to draw the attention of Your Honor to the fact, that the incursions of the native tribes have of late been attended with circumstances calculated to cause most serious difficulties to the farmer, and which imperatively call for the immediate consideration of the government. Instead of contenting themselves, as formerly, with carrying off such cattle, as, being left insufficiently guarded, or allowed to run at night, lay more obviously exposed to their predatory attempts, their depredations have of late been conducted with a degree of daring violence unexampled in the previous history of the colony. Cattle, under the care of *armed* herdsman, have, in repeated instances, been successfully attacked, and such of the latter as have had courage to defend their charge, *have in many instances been murdered*, or where their lives were spared, *have been taken prisoners* and carried to such a distance as to prevent their giving any timely notice of the loss to their employers. These well-known facts have had such an effect on the minds of our native servants, that it is with extreme difficulty we can prevail upon them, even when well armed, to conduct their charge out of sight of the house,—in fact, many farmers in this neighborhood have actually

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been obliged to act as their own herdsmen,—not being able, from the peculiarly dangerous position of their farms, to procure any one sufficiently venturous to act for them in that capacity. Under these circumstances many of them, though possessed of ample farms, find themselves under the necessity of confining their flocks and herds to a small extent of ground in the immediate vicinity of their farm houses. Even there, however, they enjoy but a comparative security, for some instances which have lately occurred show, that even the closest proximity to the house is not a sufficient protection —the Kafirs confiding in the many expedients they so well know how to employ to obliterate their traces and baffle pursuit, have been known forcibly to seize cattle in charge of an *armed* herdsman, not 300 yards from the house; and though vigorously pursued, they have succeeded in escaping with them across the boundary.

Memorialists are of opinion, that a system of frontier policy, which allows such daring violations of the treaties by the Kafirs to go unpunished, cannot be much longer endured by the inhabitants; *and if some active measures are not promptly adopted for the better security of this frontier, the English inhabitants will be compelled to follow the example of their Dutch neighbours, and, like them, seek in some remote district, a home, where they may at least have it in their power to protect themselves.*

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Signed by one hundred and seventeen inhabitants.

The reply to these remonstrances were peculiarly soothing to the complainants—*not* that the evils immediately under His Honor's own eyes, and, which he and his Secretary, the Agent General of the Kafir tribes, were well informed—*not* that their truth was admitted—*not* that they should be enquired into, and if possible redressed—*no,* but that their memorial had been forwarded to His Excellency the Governor, 600 miles distant from where the alleged outrages had been committed!

The friends and apologists of the Lieut.-Governor state, that he is tied and trammelled by his instructions—that he can do nothing without orders from the Governor;—but on the other side it is declared, and there is reason to believe the assertion, that he has full power to act upon his own responsibility. Be this, however, as it may, the Colonists of the frontier agree in the present administration of the appointment, that the office is a farce and the salary an imposition:—

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REPLY.

Graham's Town, 10th September, 1840.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, transmitting a memorial, signed by yourself, and certain of the inhabitants residing in the Mancazana and Konap Districts, praying that some more effectual measures may be speedily adopted by the Government, for the better security of their lives and property; and to acquaint you, *that the memorial has been forwarded to his Excellency the Governor.*

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) H. HUDSON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. J. W. VOWE, Fort Beaufort.

The government of the Boers at Natal now opened a direct communication with that at the Cape, and after stating the successes, with which their arms had been crowned, requested His Excellency the Governor to interest himself in the recognition of their independence—an application which their ignorance of the principles of English law on that head should perhaps in some measure excuse :—

Pieter Mauritz Burg, Port Natal,
4th September, 1840.

To His Excellency the Governor
of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—By the blessing of God we have perfectly succeeded in establishing with our numerously surrounding savage enemies, not only an advantageous, but, for the so long oppressed people, a lasting peace which presents us with the cheering prospects of permanent prosperity. This prospect, though, is somewhat darkened by the conviction that between us and our always beloved Mother Country there does not exist that friendly sympathy in our welfare, which we would fain wish to see strongly and lasting established. This general wish had frequently on former occasions been under the consideration of the Volks Raad, (Council of the People) and has presently, to the exclusion of all other matters, been more particularly under their discussion, which has originated the following resolution, namely :—

To submit respectfully to Your Excellency, as the honored representative of Her Majesty the Queen of England, that it may graciously please Her Majesty to acknowledge and declare us a free

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and independent people (a right so dearly purchased with our blood), and to concede to us all those privileges which constitute the boast and greatness of the nation which has the happiness to live under her noble Government; and to attain that object, the "Council of the People" have resolved, that (should Your Excellency desire it) two Commissioners shall be sent from hence to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, as our representatives, at such time and to such place as Your Excellency shall appoint; both which Commissioners shall be properly and fully empowered to concert such friendly arrangements as may be considered most compatible with the honor of Her Majesty and best for our permanent good.

If, for the more speedy arrangement of this matter, Your Excellency should prefer a negotiation to take place in writing, the "Council of the People" will fully concur in it.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves, with the greatest respect, in the name and on behalf of the "Council of the People;"—

(Signed) L. BADENHORST,
President of the Council.
J. J. BURGER,
Secretary.

The Dutch and English memorials, from the Colonial Frontier, once more brought up the Governor from Cape Town to the scene of the Kafir depredations. The inhabitants of Port Elizabeth, undeterred by the uncourteous manner in which they had been before received, again ventured to address His Excellency on the subject of the state of the Colony, almost in the very words of their former representations, and partaking of its full spirit, which address was not only most graciously received, but to their astonishment His Excellency, who had so elaborately panegyrized the Stockenstrom system on the former occasion, now veered right round, and declared it to be one whose provisions "SEEM TO SHOCK OUR SENSE OF NATURAL JUSTICE, AND TO BE UNSUPPORTED BY ANY CONSIDERATIONS OF SOUND POLICY !!!"

ADDRESS

OF THE INHABITANTS OF PORT ELIZABETH AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

To His Excellency Major General SIR GEORGE T. NAPIER, *K.C.B., Governor and Commander in Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.*

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May it please your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Port Elizabeth and its neighborhood, take the earliest opportunity of your Excellency's arrival in the Eastern Province, to offer the expression of our liveliest gratitude for the interest evinced in our welfare by your Excellency's present visit to the frontier districts.

We had the honor of addressing your Excellency on a former occasion, upon the grievances under which the Eastern Frontier then labored, and we venture again, respectfully, to submit to your Excellency, that those grievances remain not only undressed, but have acquired a character of so ominous a cast as to threaten the safety, if not the existence of the border districts.

We beg now humbly to *reiterate our former representions* with regard to the impolicy of the present BORDER SYSTEM, which, after a trial of nearly *four years*, has failed to effect any decrease in the frequency of the depredations, or in the atrocity of the outrages of our Kafir neighbors,—whose inherent predatory disposition has been fostered and cherished by the peculiar provisions of the treaties entered into with them in December, 1836.

We may now, with confidence, appeal to the official returns, so judiciously ordered by your Excellency, which, although they do not exhibit the whole extent of the losses sustained by the colonists, unquestionably prove that, while Kafir inroads are unceasingly continued under the new system of policy, "*the colonists have strictly performed their obligations under the treaties, and that no aggression has been committed by the border colonists on the persons or property of the native tribes*"—a just and candid concession which your Excellency was pleased to make so late as the 10th of July, 1839, in the Legislative Council, and which we have no doubt your Excellency is ready to admit is the fact up to the present moment:

We are anxious to record the expression of our thanks to your Excellency, for the increase of the military force on the frontier—a salutary measure which has tended to revive the confidence of the inhabitants of the border districts.

Your Excellency's attention cannot fail to be attracted to the SCARCITY OF LABOR in this province, and to the circumstance, that while other colonies, with inferior claims to patronage as fields for emigration, are resorted to by thousands of our fellow subjects, our Eastern settlement remains under the ban of popular prejudice. This state of things we attribute, in a great degree, to the sense of danger to life and property occasioned by the want of an effectual check on Kafir depredations, and to the erroneous impression which prevails in Britain,—that the insecurity, affecting only the border districts, extends to the whole colony; and we humbly submit our conviction, that were the general security made more apparent, this

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Eastern Province, which possesses equal and, in many parts, superior capabilities to the settlements now attracting the attention of the emigrating public, would soon become the favorite resort both of the capitalist and laborer.

We lament to be obliged to state to your Excellency, that our former prognostics, with regard to the increase of MIGRATION *from the colony, are fearfully realizing. Considerable numbers of Dutch colonists, who are beyond the influence of the present disorganised state of affairs on the immediate border, but who are allured by the success which has attended their countrymen at Natal, are daily leaving the colony. This mania for migration, we regret to say, has already begun to extend to the English families at this port, as well as to a portion of the* COLORED POPULATION *in other parts of the province—many of whom are known to have crossed the frontier.*

We beg also to bring under your Excellency's consideration, that the lamentable and uncontrolled state of VAGRANCY, which we had the honor previously to represent to your Excellency, *remains unaltered.*

We acknowledge, with thankfulness, the measures recommended by your Excellency to secure to the rising generation throughout the colony the inestimable advantages of A LIBERAL EDUCATION. At the same time we lament to observe, that this populous town and neighborhood, which has been for years without the means of efficient instruction, and since October, 1837, has had no Government-school whatever, is still unprovided with a schoolmaster.

We crave your Excellency's indulgence for having thus submitted a detail of grievances, some of which may not be capable of removal without difficulty; but regarding your Excellency as the Representative of a paternal government—to which we are justified in looking for protection and encouragement—we implore your Excellency to adopt such measures as may tend to alleviate the evils to which we have referred.

REPLY.

Uitenhage, 26th Oct:, 1840.

Gentlemen,—I have received with much pleasure the address which you have forwarded to me, and have to thank you for the expression of your satisfaction at this my second visit to the Eastern Districts of the colony. I do assure you that you only do me justice in ascribing that visit to the continued interest felt by me in the welfare of the frontier.

Gentlemen,—I have given to your address the best consideration in my power, and I feel pleasure in communicating frankly the views which I have formed respecting the topics which you bring under my notice.

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The first of these topics, both in order and importance, is a subject to which the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth called my attention on my first visit to this neighborhood—I mean the operation of the treaties subsisting between this colony and certain tribes beyond the boundary.

In common with, I believe, the great body of the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts and the colony at large, I am strongly attached to the leading principles of those treaties,* and consider them to be well calculated to secure the peace, and by that means promote the prosperity of the entire frontier. But aware, as I am, of the heavy losses which the border farmers have sustained, and are sustaining, from depredations committed by the Kafir nation, in opposition to the general scope and intention of the treaties, I am constrained to admit, that in certain of their details, they have been proved by experience to have disappointed, to some exent, the expectations and intentions of the framers, and to have left property in instances of *frequent* occurence, *without its just and adequate protection*. The inability (for example) of a party plundered to receive compensation, in case his cattle were not guarded by an armed herdsman, appears to me to tend but little to the protection of the cattle, whilst it endangers greatly the safety of the herdsman. And the provisions which defeat the claims of persons chargeable with negligence in the keeping of the cattle, as well as that of persons who, without being chargeable with any negligence, are unable from accidental circumstances, to trace the spoor over any particular point in the colonial boundary—although in both the cases last supposed, the stolen cattle are actually found in Kafirland, and can be identified beyond all dispute—*seem to shock our sense of natural justice, and to be unsupported by any considerations of sound policy*. To these points, and any other of a like nature, in which the treaties may be susceptable of improvement, I shall give the fullest consideration, with an anxious desire to remove, if in my power, every well-grounded reason of complaint, whether on the part of the colonists or the Kafirs chiefs. In my effort for the attainment of this object, I trust I shall have with me the support of rational and unprejudiced men generally, as well as the full concurrence of the Kafir chiefs themselves. It will be my principal duty while on the frontier, to propose such modifications as may seem to be imperatively called for, and to represent to the chiefs the absolute necessity of their taking them into their consideration, and cordially and honestly uniting with me in endeavoring to make, what all parties consider, a good system more efficient in its working; I am the more inclined to expect that I shall succeed in my endeavors to effect this desirable object, as *from the scrupulous adherence to*

*This was a gross mistake,—not one in ten of the inhabitants were in favor of the *principles* of the Treaties.

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the spirit and letter of the treaties by the frontier farmers, to which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has often drawn my attention, and *to which I am again happy to bear my cheerful testimony*,—I may reasonably look for the exhibition of a similar disposition on the part of their Kafir neighbours.

Gentlemen,—With respect to the second subject alluded to in your address, the want of labor, as well as the popular prejudice which you state pervades the public mind in England, I can only lament that such delusion should exist. I trust, however, that the generous and liberal views, which have been so strongly manifested by Her Majesty's government towards the colonies, and the encouragement held out to emigration by the Secretary of State, Lord John Russell, will be the means of dispelling the prejudice of which you complain, and that an increased security to property on the frontier (which it shall be my earnest endeavor to promote in conjuction with His Honor the Lieut.-Governor, whose anxiety to effect this object is equal to my own), will ere long induce alike the capitalist and the laborer to turn their attention to the Eastern Districts of this colony—where enterprize and industry are certain of an adequate return.

Gentlemen—Adverting to the third topic embraced in your address—*the emigration of the Dutch colonists* beyond the boundary—I need scarcely inform you that it has always been my earnest endeavor to restrain what I felt to be an injudicious movement on their part; but as ere long, the communications which I have lately made to the Secretary of State, will be officially before Her Majesty's government;—it is out of my power to say anything further upon this subject until I receive the instructions which I await.

I am sorry to learn that the "mania" for emigration has begun to extend to the English families in your town, a fact of which I was unaware until the receipt of your address—but I confidently trust that those parties will perceive, before it is too late, the impolicy of such a course.

Gentlemen,—The fourth subject of your address, is that of vagrancy. After mature consideration of this topic, I am compelled to believe that the only practicable remedy for this evil must consist in an extension of the jurisdiction, and, if possible, in the number of the magistracy—thus rendering the punishment of crime much more speedy, and much less troublesome and expensive than at present. I shall not fail to bring this important subject under the consideration of the Legislative Council.

Gentlemen,—The last subject which you bring under my notice, is one in which I have long taken a deep interest, and I am glad that the measures which have been devised, for the promotion of a liberal system of education in this colony, meet your approval. The inhabitants of Port Elizabeth may rest assured, that, as soon as the

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exertions of Mr. Innes shall have placed more teachers at my disposal, their claims will be amongst the first attended to.

Gentlemen,—Having now adverted briefly to the various and important topics alluded to in your address, I have merely to repeat that it must always be a source of gratification to me, to meet, as far as I am able, the views and wishes of the inhabitants of this colony.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEORGE NAPIER.

John Thornhill, Esq., and the gentlemen who signed the Port Elizabeth address.

The Address and reply elicited the following observations from the press:—

His Excellency the Governor's reply to the Port Elizabeth address, will be read by the inhabitants of this Province with unfeigned satisfaction. It breathes throughout a spirit of honest frankness, which can hardly be too much applauded, and which cannot fail to command the respect even of those who may conscientiously differ with His Excellency on matters of great importance.

The most weighty topic referred to in this document, is, unquestionably, that relating to our border policy, and to which point, in the remarks we are about to offer, we purpose to confine ourselves. His Excellency states,—" In common with, I believe, the great body of the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts, and the Colony at large, I am strongly attached to the leading principles of those treaties, and consider them to be well calculated to secure the peace, and by that means promote the prosperity of the entire frontier." To this remark we have serious objections, and which we shall endeavor shortly to state:—

If it be true that the treaties in operation are just in principle, then we say, let those principles be held sacred—let no one dare to touch them with the finger of innovation—let them be maintained in all their purity and at whatever cost—assured that everything which is not consonant with justice, is detrimental to society, and unworthy the character of the British government. This, however, is the point upon which the whole question turns, and upon which we, and those who think with us, differ essentially from the opinion of His Excellency, as placed upon record in the document in question. We contend that the treaties are *not* just in principle, and we deny the fact that the great body of the inhabitants—to say nothing of " all parties"—consider them to be so.

The working of the system proves, beyond the possibility of doubt, the existence of *something* wrong;—either that the machi-

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nery is faulty, and unsuited to the object required,—or that the hands which guide it are feeble, or unskilful, and fail to do it justice. In both cases the result is the same;—*the end is defeated;* and, if so, it is but poor consolation to those who suffer to be informed that the fault lies, not in the system, but in the workers of it—that it is to be sought in the workmanship alone, and not in the materials of which it is composed. To those who thus argue we remark, that it is a sound maxim, and one no less applicable to the political, than to the moral and natural world, that "a corrupt tree cannot bring forth *good* fruit;" in other words, that measures should be tested, not by theoretical opinions, but by their practical results. Induction from admitted fact is the short cut opened up by Lord Bacon to stubborn conclusions What then, we ask, has resulted from the Kafir Treaties? and to this we answer—they have entailed upon the country a vast augmentation of expenditure, without any diminution either of robbery or murder. They shew us that the Kafirs are daily becoming more bold by impunity—that they are rapidly increasing their means of aggression—that they are crowding on the Colonial Frontier, while the interior parts of Kafirland are comparatively depopulated—that their inroads within the Colony are frequent and daring, and that they do not even attempt to plead the smallest provocation, on the part of the Colonists, for these irritating and incessant aggressions. Weigh all these circumstances fairly, and who can fail to be convinced that the whole may be justly attributed to a thirst for plunder—stimulated to vigorous action by a system which effectually screens the delinquent from the just punishment due to his offences?

But we contend further that the principles of the treaties are unjust, inasmuch as they are partial. They shackle the Colonist with condition upon condition, while the Kafir is left perfectly unincumbured—they make the recovery of property, stolen from the former, contingent, in many cases, upon causes over which he has, and can have no possible control; and they admit the latter as parties to regulations which are purely Colonial, and that can answer no other purpose than to assure them that, in their forays upon the Colonists, the chances of ultimate success are many and decided. Under any circumstances there is no penalty for crime, or at least, none which the government will venture to inflict,—the Colony gets back merely the value of the property stolen,—and no more.

No system can be a safe one which does not make robbery, in the long run, a losing game. It is on this principle that the British Legislature have recently voted £60,000 in aid of Sir T. F. Buxton's Niger Scheme—with a view to put down the plunder, not of cattle, as we have it here, but of human beings. This object, says the projector of the plan, never will be gained so long as the chances of gain in the long run preponderate. Apply the same principle to our border system, and we shall be at no loss to account for that

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constant state of irritation in which the frontier inhabitants are kept by the daring inroads by the Kafirs on their property.

Disguise the matter as we may, still we cannot get rid of the truism, that no barbarous people can be effectually controlled but through the medium of their fears or their self-interest. If this be so, then it follows that no system of frontier policy can be sound which does not place in such bold relief as to be clear and palpable to the most untutored mind, the principle—that robbery and aggression will most assuredly entail on that nation, which commits them, certain punishment and eventual loss. Nor is it any reply to this to say—even were we to admit the fact, which we do not—that the chiefs have done all in their power to maintain the treaties;—seeing that those treaties, no less than the well-understood law of nations, make the governing power responsible in such matters for the acts of those within the circle of its authority. If indeed the Kafir chiefs have not either the will or the power to this, then it becomes the imperative duty of the Colonial government,—and from which it is pusillanimous to shrink—to impose on them such checks as shall, if possible, preserve the Colony from further aggression. "The Sovereign," says *Vattel*, "who refuses to cause a reparation to be made of the damage caused by his subjects, or to punish the guilty, or, in short, *to deliver him up*, renders himself, in some measure, an accomplice in the injury, and becomes responsible for it." But this is not all,—for in respect to the Kafir Treaties, we not only argue on the general principle, but on the *special* provisions contained in the treaties themselves also. It must be admitted, for it cannot be denied, that the Kafirs have notoriously failed in the fulfilment of their pledges—that, in fact, they have violated every one which it was important to the Colonists they should have kept. And what is the penalty for this infraction? The answer is contained in the 5th clause of the treaty, namely—expulsion from the ceded territory. An energetic government would sternly enforce this penalty—and certainly it is either just that it should be enforced, or it is puerile, and displays our weakness that it should ever have been placed upon record. Clauses intended merely to operate *in terrorem*, should never be hazarded in our engagements with an uncivilized people. Simplicity and firmness should characterize all we do or say, and nothing should be threatened which we are not prepared and resolved to execute. Without, however, insisting upon this point just now, we proceed to remark that the Kafirs should at least be made to understand their actual position, namely—that by their own dishonesty and bad faith, they have not only forfeited the ceded territory, but have rendered void those treaties which secured to them so many and such great advantages. If this be not done, and if, instead of assuming that tone which, as the aggrieved party, this Colony has a right to assume,—the vices of the savage are palliated and his aggressions passed by as matters which it is conve-

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nient to keep out of sight, then every endeavor hereafter, to preserve the peace of the border, will be futile,—plunder will become an organized system,—murder will be, as heretofore, frequent, and aggressions will go on until the colonists are goaded into retaliatory measures, and a state of anarchy is produced which it is distressing to contemplate.

True benevolence, to say nothing of policy, demands that this should be carefully guarded against. If it be enquired, how is this to be done? Common sense answers—crime must be suppressed in the bud, and no arrears under this head on any account be permitted—due restraints must be imposed wherever necessary—everything impracticable in our existing engagements must be expunged—no penal clause must remain which it would not be wise or prudent to enforce—and no infraction or compromise must be allowed, under any circumstances or in any case, to pass unnoticed or unredressed. To sum up all in a few words,—we must shew that we are in earnest: we must neither do nor suffer wrong, and we must teach the uncivilized native, in a way that he will not be likely to forget, that "honesty is the *best* policy."

A favorable reception for His Excellency Sir George Napier in the eastern metropolis of the Colony was prepared for him by his own annnouncement of conversion to sounder views on the Kafir policy, contained in his reply to the people of Port Elizabeth. At Graham's Town, in the spirit of true loyalty, he was hailed as the representative of a beloved Sovereign, and with hope as the healer of deep yet not irremediable wounds, and he here replied to the letter of the President of the Natal Council in the following terms:—

Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope,
2d November, 1840.

The President of the Council,
Pieter Mauritz Burg.

Sir,—Your letter dated at Pieter Mauritz Burg the 4th of Sept. last, reached me on the 11th ultimo.

I am glad to learn that it is the general wish of your colleagues, to share in the advantages enjoyed by those who have the happiness to live under the Queen of England's Government; and it would be extremely gratifying to me, personally, to contribute in securing to the Colonial Emigrant Farmers, a full participation therein: but being at present unable to understand in what manner the privileges of British Subjects, can be properly continued to and enjoyed by a people aspiring to Political Independence, I think it would be premature in me, to express the desire which I should otherwise feel to

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receive the Commissioners whom you propose conditionally to send to this Colony, until I shall have been made distinctly aware of the basis on which your amicable propositions are grounded, and also until I shall have received those instructions on the subject, for which, some time since, I applied to Her Majesty's Government, to whom a copy of your letter was transmitted immediately on its receipt.

You have judged rightly in thinking that no arrangement can be consented to by me, which shall be in any respect incompatible with the honor of Her Majesty. Consistently with that, however, I shall rejoice in any thing that may tend to the permanent good of the people, with whom, and for whom you are now acting.

As you have expressed your readiness to enter into written negociations in the event of the proposed Commissioners not being sent, *it appears to me that much time may be gained by your furnishing me with an explicit statement of the terms on which you are disposed to treat*, and which I sincerely hope may be such as to enable me to meet your wishes, for that amicable settlement of the future relations between this Colony and the country of Natal, which it is our common interest to effect.

I shall hope to receive your communication at this place, where I shall probably remain until about the beginning of the next year.

I am, sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

On the 2nd of December His Excellency, Sir George Napier, met the Kafir chiefs at Fort Beaufort, attended by a brilliant suite and some anxious spectators, for the purpose of conferring upon alterations in the hitherto-so-much-be-praised Stockenstrom Treaties. After a tedious palaver for two days, in which the Kafirs, through the chief UMHALA, admitted *that depredations were not so numerous under the old system as under the present benevolent policy,* a few patch-work modifications* were made by mutual consent, which like all other arrangements with these barbarians, have ended in disappointment to the Colonists, for robberies were not diminished or

* The alterations were briefly these:—

1. The cancellation of the clause, requiring the loser of stolen cattle to trace them by spoor over some particular part of the boundary.
2. That requiring the farmers to have *armed* herdsmen with his cattle when in the field, or making it imperative on him to follow them early next morning.
3. That which prohibited the loser of stolen cattle from receiving anything beyond the value of his stolen property.

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a greater quantity of cattle recovered from the depredators, nor have assaults or murders lessened, nor one Kafir murderer been apprehended and punished by the chiefs, which was the most especial article in the modifications of the celebrated treaties. . His Excellency the Governor at this meeting imprsessd upon all the chiefs and their people—the all-important fact, which, instead of contradicting, they admitted, namely, that "*since the treaties have been in existence you must be aware that the colonists have committed no act of aggression against you,*" and "*I again call your attention to the fact, that no injury or injustice has been done to you by the colonists since these treaties have been in operation.*" His Excellency also took care to tell them that their atrocious invasion of the Colony in 1834 was not caused by Colonial aggression, but that the whole fault lay with themselves, for addressing the T'Slambie tribes he distinctly informed them, "THEY KNEW THAT STEALING CATTLE FROM THE COLONY WAS THE CAUSE OF THE WAR." To all these things the Chiefs nodded assent, determined, however, to plunder with re-doubled activity, which decision they most conscientiously carried into execution within a few weeks afterwards, as the government Records shortly to appear in these pages will shew!

At page 123, part the first, will be seen the opinion of the Honorable the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, in his despatch of the 29th October, 1837, *that Port Natal was a foreign land—that the Government disclaimed it as a posssession or dependency, and all disposition to colonize it.* During this year, however, the then Secretary of State, Lord John Russel, somewhat modified the strong disclaimer of Lord Glenelg, and proposed a middle course, which, had it been acted upon, would have conciliated the emigrants—silently recovered the lost allegiance of our own subjects, and prevented the effusion of blood which has since taken place, In a despatch of the noble Secretary's he says—"*he is bound to confess that he is not so entirely opposed to the question of colonization as his predecessor seemed to have been. That he*

considers much of the greatness and power of the British Empire to be dependant on the Colonies, and that he would be disposed to look into the propriety or necessity of taking possession of Port Natal, but in his ignorance of the question he declines even to recommend any decisive measures, but only suggests WHETHER ONE OF THE VOLKSRAAD MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN APPOINTED AS A PRESIDENT FOR A TERM OF YEARS, HOLDING OFFICE UNDER THE GOVERNMENT." Unluckily this very shrewd "suggestion" was, as we all know, neither followed nor even attempted, but a useless if not dangerous correspondence entered into, flattering to the hopes of revolted Boers, and degrading to Her Majesty's Government.

A.D. 1841.

At the close of the preceding year information reached the Colony that the emigrants farmers had attacked a freebooter, called N'CAPAI, a chief who, it is said, before 1828 had no political existence whatever, and only rose into "bad eminence" by his warlike and predatory habits. His known disposition had assembled around him refugees from the Fetcanie and other tribes—kindred spirits of evil—and he became formidable to all around him. In the month of December, 1840, he made a descent upon FAKU, the chief of the Amaponda nation, one of *our own allies*, when, on the 19th, he (N'Capai) was himself assailed by a body of the emigrant farmers early in the morning, on which occasion many of the natives fell and much cattle were swept away. This circumstance was represented by the Wesleyan missionary in the neighbourhood as a wanton attack, and at N'Capai's instigation it was represented as such to the Governor of the Colony, who, on the 5th of Jan., 1841, thus addressed the President of the Boers' Council on the subject:—

Graham's Town, 5th January, 1841.

To the President of the Council,
Pietermauritzburg,

Sir,—Your letter acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 2d Nov. last, reached me some weeks ago, and I should have postponed any further correspondence with you until the arrival of the

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answer of the Council to my said letter; but I must take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you and through you the Emigrant Farmers residing in the neighborhood of Port Natal, that it is with feelings of deep and unfeigned regret that I have received intelligence through that most excellent and respectable body, the Wesleyan Missionaries, of a wanton, and, as I am given to understand, unprovoked attack made by her Majesty's subjects, the Emigrant Farmers, upon the Kafir chief N'Capai and his tribe; the result of which has been the capture of nearly half their cattle, and the slaughter of a great number of the people of that tribe.

I am unwilling to believe that such a report can be correct, or that the Emigrant Farmers have been guilty of such wickedness. I can hardly bring myself to believe that men calling themselves Christians, and offering up prayers to the Almighty, as the Judge of their conduct and actions, should so profane the holy name of religion as to make a mockery of the word of God and become the abettors of such cruelty and oppression.

I sincerely trust, therefore, that this report may turn out to be unfounded; but if, unhappily, the Emigrant Farmers of Natal cannot deny the accusation made against them as British subjects (which I wish to impress upon them they still are and ever must be considered), it becomes my duty to protest against their proceedings, and in the name of her Majesty the Queen, solemnly to warn them that a continuance of such wanton and unprovoked attacks upon the native tribes, will oblige the British Government to adopt such decisive measures as will effectually prevent the recurrence of aggressions at once lawless and inexcusable.

I address myself to you and to other enlightened men who have authority among her Majesty's emigrant subjects, in the hope that you and they will point out the evil and folly of pursuing a line of conduct which is at variance with the express wishes and commands of Her Majesty's Government, which must alienate from the cause of the Emigrant Farmers all just and good men, and which must eventually bring ruin and misery upon them, their families, and their fortunes. I trust, therefore, that this remonstrance will not be disregarded, as it is made in all truth and sincerity, and in the ardent hope that, ere long, the Emigrant Colonists at Natal and the adjacent country will see that their preservation and future welfare can only be secured by a return to the immediate rule and jurisdiction of Her Majesty—thus ensuring to themselves all those blessings of peace and security which can alone exist under a well organised and paternal Government.

In the hope that this message will be received by the Emigrants as it is given, in the spirit of peace and humanity.

I am, &c.

GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

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On the 27th of the same month the Governor followed up his letter of the 5th by another, intimating that he had dispatched a body of troops to the Umgazi River, to protect Faku, who also represented his fears of an attack from the forces of the emigrants:—

Graham's Town, 27th Jan., 1841.

The President of the Council
Pieter Mauritz Burg.

Sir,—Upon the 20th instant, I received from the Rev. Wm. Shaw, the head of the Wesleyan Mission in this Colony, a letter enclosing documents, confirming the truth of the attack, which rumour stated, had been made upon the tribe of N'Capai, by a body of the Emigrant Farmers in the neighborhood of Port Natal. This attack, it now appears, has been attended with considerable loss of life, the capture of many cattle, and the abduction of some women and children. I likewise received through the same channel a message from Faku, the chief of the Amaponda Kafirs, intimating that orders had been sent to him, to appear before the Council of the Emigrant Farmers, which command, it not being his intention to obey, he feared that an attack would be made upon him, and therefore applied to the Government for protection from any aggressions on the part of the Queen's Emigrant subjects.

I have, therefore, dispatched a strong detachment of Her Majesty's troops, under the command of Capt. Smith, of the 27th Regt., to take up a military position within the territory of Faku, in order to afford this faithful ally of the government that protection which he has asked for, and which his long friendship with the Colony entitles him to expect. Should an attack upon this Chief, therefore, have been contemplated, by any portion of the Emigrant Farmers, they had better pause in their career, for they may rest assured that the Officer in command of the detachment will repel the same by force, and any collision between Her Majesty's troops and the Emigrant Farmers, would, by placing the latter in the situation of subjects rebelling against their Sovereign, oppose invincible barriers to any peaceful negotiations which I might otherwise have it in my power to enter into for their future government.

I trust that the Council, and all those who have any influence in guiding the present measures of the Emigrant Farmers, will point out to them the fatal consequences which are certain to ensue if these wicked and unprovoked aggressions on the native tribes continue to take place, and I beg you will take the most public manner of making known to them that this detachment of troops is sent for the especial purpose of protecting their tribes within their own

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territories, *and not with the view of disturbing the Emigrants*, as long as they continue in the peaceful occupation of their present territory.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

The expedition marched on the 28th. The smallness of the force it was then predicted was useless before such a number of Boers, supposing it to be their intention to molest the natives, as all they could do was to maintain themselves in a defensive position. It was also well observed that military expeditions were expensive matters, and that it would be a much shorter and better way to take the whole country at once under British rule, and by so doing *prevent* mischief rather than attempt to repair and punish it after it had been done—for as a mere military demonstration it was little better than a farce. It will also no doubt be here remembered, that in 1828 a considerable force was dispatched from the Colony to protect the paramount Kafir chief, HINTZA, from the Fetcanies, and every one knows how that generous act was rewarded in 1834 by that perfidious chief, and *now*, while we were sending troops to protect the natives from *whites*, the same ingratitude was intended to be shown, for a conspiracy was laid by the Kafirs to assail and destroy the troops as they passed through their country, which was providentially discovered and frustrated.

The arrival at Natal of the charge of a wanton attack on N'Capai by the Boers met with immediate denial from the Commandant, H. Lombard, as well as another, namely, that of being implicated in enslaving the natives. His letter is dated Pietermauritzberg, 10th Feb., 1841:—

I wish to state, that all the information you received in the Colony about our slave dealing is false and void of truth. The Zoola children, who, after the war, fell into our hands as orphans, or who were brought to us by their parents, who had been robbed of all their cattle by Dingaan, lest they should perish from starvation, are indentured here by the Landdrosts,—the boys until they shall attain the age of 25, and the girls that of 21 years; and the Landdrosts have been directed to watch with a vigilant eye that no fraud be

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practised in this respect. It is also strongly forbidden that any dealing in these apprentices shall take place, or that they be removed beyond our limits, under a penalty of Rds. 500. I will not deny that something of this kind might perhaps have taken place on our northern boundaries; but were you acquainted with the extent of the country, its habitations, and the distance of the magistracies;—the continual trouble with which we had to contend during the war, and to which we had to direct all our attention,—the differences which existed amongst our fellow emigrants under Potgieter at the Mooi River, and who only joined us in October last, and many other circumstances which I might here quote—were you acquainted with all this, I say, it will not surprise you, perhaps, that offences of this sort might have taken place, with which we were unacquainted, and which we could not prevent. At present, however, our Council have issued peremptory orders to all the Fieldcornets to direct a vigilant eye to that part.

It also appears to me, that people wish to lay to our charge whatever might happen to the children of Bushmen, &c., beyond our boundaries (Vet River), from whence to the Great River numbers of people reside; but with such we are unacquainted, and it cannot be charged to our responsibility. At all events, we do not acknowledge or hold lawful the claim to any Zoolah or other child of color, except those indentured by our Magistrates.

Another charge laid against us, as I hear, is that we harbor those who absconded from the colony, on account of debts contracted or offences committed. This may be true; but it is equally true, that we heartily wish to be relieved from such sort of people, for they are to us of more trouble than service; and we would be glad if proof of their guilt were sent to this place, and they themselves claimed, for without such proof we would not give them any pain.

My chief object at present is, however, to answer certain Report made by the Missionary Garner, concerning our expedition against N'Capaai, as I saw it inserted in the *Graham's Town Journal*, in the form of an extract. And for the information of his reverence, I have merely to state, that our expedition against N'Capaai did not take the field, before we were *decidedly convinced*, that he had at various times sent his people, (conjointly with certain Bushmen, who had in a great mass assembled in his neighborhood) to rob us, and who succeeded from time to time in carrying off many head of cattle and horses from our borders, where the Togala has its source to the Ucomaas, some of which were on former occasions *traced* by small patroles to the kraals of N'Capaai, some of the robbers being at times killed and the cattle partly retaken. We had also undoubted information that he had endeavored to induce our ally, Faku, to join him in an invasion of our frontiers; that Faku sent to us for assistance against the hostile attacks of N'Capaai; and that on our arrival, we actually found him at war with Faku. Our expedition

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consisted of only 260 men, and the number of cattle, captured by us amounted to about 3,000 head, from which the stolen cattle were repaid and only a small portion of our expenses, leaving nothing by which the stolen horses (not yet recovered) could be paid. The cattle we saw at his kraals amounted to six or seven times as much, and we could have taken more, but wished that N'Capaai should take this as a lesson, and abstain for the future from robbing us, and leave Faku unmolested. We returned after having first informed him what he had to expect hereafter, should he not keep himself quiet.

In further answer to his reverence, I have to state, that amongst the cattle taken by us from N'Capaai, several were found which had been stolen from us, and which were sworn to by the owners; that several of N'Capaai's people, who fell into our hands, and whom we again set at liberty, confirmed the information we had already received, and told us even more than we knew. We also found among N'Capaai's cattle, some of those stolen from the Oliphant's Hoek during the late Caffer war. Finally I have to remark, that Mr. Garner need not entertain any fear about the destruction of Faku, so long as he does not commit any hostilities against us, and not even for that of N'Capaai, should he (Mr. G.) have influence enough with him to induce him to restore our stolen horses, to bridle the Bushmen kraals under his authority, and to leave us unmolested.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. S. Lombard, Commandant.

Another writer gives the following version of the same matters and other occurrences at Natal:—

Pietermauritzsburg, 5th Jan. 1841.
To Mr. * * * in the "Ware African Office."

Sir and Friend, I intended to have communicated to you in my last correspondence that a small commando was about to be sent off against the Bushmen who, on *nine* different occasions, robbed our people of the district of Weenen of their Cattle and Horses, but I was uncertain whether the Volksraad would have granted permission for the same, because they are very scrupulous in authorising attacks on the natives, as they prefer arranging every thing, if possible, by means of amicable missions, which were tried in the instance in question, but, I am sorry to say, without effect. It was only through the utmost necessity that the Volksraad consented to the Commando against N'Capaai, and when our party reached the dominions of that Chief the Commandant sent a message to Faku to tell him not to be in any fear, for that no harm would be done to

him, to which Faku replied that he himself had had a war with N'Capaai some weeks before on account of his (Faku) not wishing to join in his (N'Capaai's) robbing of our possessions. The Commandant after having summoned N'Capaai in the *hope of coming to an amicable arrangement,* all overtures for which were refused, made the attack with 190 men, when after a desperate fight N'Capaai fell with about 150 of his people, the rest being put to flight. It was only owing to the resoluteness of our men that we were able to make head against the vast numbers of our enemy. We took only as much cattle as will repay our people that were robbed. We expect the Commando to return, if the weather permits, at the beginning of next week. There is still peace between us and Panda, who intends to pay us a visit to decide whether he will give his successor to be instructed at the expense of the Volksraad in the Christian religion and thus receive an education adapted for his future situation. We ushered in the new year with the greatest concord, and had races, followed by a ball and supper. We intend to build a large edifice for public amusements that will answer at the same time for a Commercial Room, Library, &c. We have tolerable crops and all sorts of vegetables are in abundance. The farmers at Port Natal, only, have more than 100 muids of dry beans besides what is still to be reaped.

I heard that there is a report in the Colony that we are dealing in slaves, to which I must give my positive denial. Potgieter when separated from us, I belive committed such a crime, but since he has been under our rule no slave dealing exists at this or the other side of the Draakberg. It once, indeed, happened that a trader managed fraudulently to obtain five *Z*oolahs which he was going to take away with him, but the moment our Landdrost got aware of the fact he sent a patrol off and had the Zoolahs liberated. Like with the captured negroes at the Cape, so it is at this place with orphan Zoolahs, who, if unable themselves to earn a livelihood, are indentured to certain persons under a strict penalty against any bad treatment. The following is the form of the Contract.

"Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the Civil Commissioner at Pietermauritzburg has indentured this day the Zoolah orphan boy, Jonas, aged 14 years, to Paul Hermanus Zietsman, under condition that the said Zietsman shall provide the said Jonas with food and clothing, and not maltreat him in any manner under the penalty of the Law. The said Jonas to serve till he shall have attained his majority, after which he shall be at liberty to hire himself out to any one he may choose."

"Thus done at Pietermauritzburg, this 9th day of March, 1840."

(Signed) J. P. ZIETSMAN.

Hoping this may prove interesting, I am

P. H. ZIETSMAN.

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His Excellency Sir George Napier's letter, addressed to the President of the Council at Pietermauritzberg, of the 2nd November, 1840, requiring from that body, who had been already designated by a portion of the press as REBELS, an explicit statement of the terms on which they were disposed to *treat*, produced the following specific statement:—

Pietermauritzberg, Natal, 14th Jan., 1841.

To His Excellency Major General Sir George Napier, K.C.B., Governor and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c., of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Right Honorable Sir,—In our Council having been this day produced the answer of your Excellency, in reply to our request of the 4th September last, wherein we took the liberty of soliciting your Excellency to lay before the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, for the reasons therein mentioned, that we requested and entreated to be acknowledged by Her Majesty as a free and independent state, and wherein we also stated our request to remain in the participation of some of the rights of British subjects,—which answer is dated Graham's Town, the 2d November, 1840, wherein your Excellency graciously expressed your willingness of promoting our interest, and that of the colony under your Excellency's administration, provided the same were not repugnant to the dignity of Her Majesty, and wherein your Excellency further stated that you could not receive the Commissioners by us appointed for that purpose, unless your Excellency were first informed in writing, from us, on what basis we founded our friendly proposition, &c. We have, therefore, after due deliberation, decided to submit to your Excellency, that, as the Representatives of all the Dutch Emigrants from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope who are now within our boundaries, we are willing and desirous of entering into a perpetual alliance with the Government of her Majesty, the Queen of England, on the following principles:—

1st.—That the honored Government of Her Majesty, the Queen of England, would be pleased to acknowledge and declare our settlement here as a free and independent state, under the name of the Republic of Port Natal and adjoining countries," the boundaries whereof can be hereafter defined.

2d.—That Her Majesty's Government declare itself willing to treat with the said Republic in the relation of an ally.

3d.—That the said Republic reciprocally declares itself to stand in the closest alliance with the British Government.

4th. That Her Majesty's Government shall be at liberty, in case of any hostile undertaking against this Republic by sea, by any other

power whatever, to interpose itself either in a friendly manner or to repel the same by force.

5th.—That in case of war between the British Government and any other power, this Republic shall be viewed as neutral, and all private commercial vessels lying at anchor in the ports of the Republic shall be left unmolested.

6th.—That the British Government shall have the right to place here an Ambassador or Representative Agent.

7th.—That the trade of British merchandize shall not be made subject to higher imports than those of other people or nations, but the same, as far as practicable, shall be regulated according to the duties on British goods as levied in its own Colonies, with the exception of wines, strong liquors, and other articles prejudicial to this Republic, the unnecessary import of which it would be adviseable to restrain by higher duties. In consideration of which all articles of trade of this Republic should be received in all British possessions, and not be subject to higher duties than those of British settlements.

8th.—That this Republic promises never to make any hostile movement against any of the natives or inland tribes who may reside between the boundaries of the said Republic and that of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, without first giving notice thereof to the representative of that Government here, or to the Governor for the time being of the colony aforesaid, as also the cause which may have given rise thereto, with exception however of such occasions wherein it will be our duty to take immediate steps against the enemy either in opposing or repelling their inroads or contemplated attacks upon us, or upon any of the natives on our frontier and in alliance with us, or in case of robbery to pursue immediately the robbers and overtake them, and in all such other cases wherein delay or neglect would be dangerous and prejudicial to us.

9th.—That we further bind ourselves not to extend our boundary line further, to the detriment or disadvantage of any of the surrounding tribes, nor to make any hostile movement upon them, unless such tribe, by any preceding hostile attack shall have given us occasion thereto, so that we, for the maintenance of our rights, or for the security of our property, shall be compelled to take up arms against such tribe.

10th.—That the Republic promises to give every encouragement to the spreading of the Gospel amongst, and for the civilization of, the Heathen Tribes which surround, or are residing under our Government.

11th,—That this Republic promises not to give any aid or assistance in any manner to the declared or public enemies of the British Government, in any hostile undertaking against the same, nor to permit such known enemies vessels to enter our ports, or to provision them; but on the contrary in case of war with the colony by Kafirs or other tribes residing between us and the colony, should

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the Governor of the colony be desirous, either by sea or land, or overland to march an armed force through our territory, to assist the same with provisions, means of transport, &c., and further, as far as possible to accommodate them.

12th.—That this Republic undertake and bind themselves never to enter into any slave trade, or to encourage or to assist the same, or to permit any vessel or craft of that trade to enter our ports, or to furnish them with any refreshment.

13th.—That the British subjects residing in this Republic shall be equally protected in their persons and property, and shall not be subject to higher taxes or duties than the burghers of this Republic are.

We take the liberty to add further, that, as your Excellency will perceive by the foregoing, that we are very desirous to be always on the best and friendly terms with the British Government, and, if possible, to live in peace with the surrounding nations, and only wishing to protect and govern ourselves in our lawfully acquired territory, without detriment either to your Government or the natives surrounding us, if they are willing to live in peace with us—Your Excellency will have no objection to recommend our application to Her Majesty's Government; and we can assure your Excellency that we on our side will forget all we have suffered, and by our future conduct shew that we are as worthy to be received as allies, as we before shewed as dutiful and obedient subjects; and notwithstanding the continual wrong imputations, ungrounded and completely destitute of truth, which from certain channels have been cast upon us, and repeatedly forced upon Her Majesty's Government in England, we do not hesitate to say that we hope to convince the world that so far from tending to serve as a destroyer or corrupter of the Heathen nations in this region, we are, in the hands of God, the means of preventing robbery, murder, and violence, and even tend to the greater security of the Cape Colony, and to the furtherance of the Christian religion amongst many thousands, who up to this time have been in a state of benighted darkness, which many of the Heathen tribes who are living under our protection, and others with whom we have concluded peace, will readily acknowledge.

We have the honor to remain,
With the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient Humble Servants,

(Signed) K. P. Landman,
President,
C. V. Buchner,
L. Badenhorst,
F. L. Meyer,
J. J. Uys,
J. C. Moolman,

(Signed) A. W. Pretorius,
Jacs. Johs Burger,
G. J. Scheepers,
J. C. Klopper,
J. C. Potgieter,
R. J. van Rensburg,
G. R. van Rooyen.

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On the 22nd of March His Excellency the Governor met the Legislative Council after his visit to the Eastern Frontier, and as his speech to that body displays the object of his visit, proves the truth of the allegation of the Emigrants, that the Stockenstrom-Kafir-Treaties were inefficient and unjust, and that the conduct of the border Colonists was marked with a forbearance meriting the warmest praise; I shall here give those parts which bear upon this subject:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

Having so recently returned from the Eastern districts, it was impossible for me at the sitting of last week, to state to you my reasons for having visited the frontier, and the measures resulting from that visit, together with several circumstances of interest to the Colony, which I feel it my duty to communicate to this Council; and particularly to the unofficial members, who in a great degree are to be looked upon as the guardians or representatives of the public interest in this assembly; and therefore, in my judgment, entitled to be made acquainted with the reasons which at times may induce me to take great responsibility on myself in adopting measures which only peculiar circumstances could warrant; and altho' I shall hope to have the support and approval of this Council in all I have done, I beg it to be clearly understood that I consider myself alone answerable for every measure I have carried into execution.

Gentlemen, I believe it was matter of notoriety that, in the beginning of October last, I was on the point of proceeding on a tour of inspection to the only part of the Colony I had not visited; namely, the village and district of Clanwilliam, when, from causes which I am now about to detail, I deemed it more advisable to postpone my visit to Clanwilliam and proceed to the Eastern frontier.

Gentlemen, my motives for so doing were, that I had received from His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Hare, several communications forwarding memorials from the frontier farmers and the inhabitants in general of the Eastern Districts, complaining of *the constant and daring depreda ions* upon their cattle, horses, and other property, and of the *frequent murders* of their servants by the border Tribes, for which they could get no compensation or redress, owing, as they conceived, to some *unjust* articles of the treaties, which they prayed might be so altered or modified as to protect the colonists from the *never-ceasing plunder* of their cattle, which, if permitted to continue, must inevitably end in their ruin.

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As these memorials were drawn up in the *most respectful and loyal language,—were perfectly correct in the statement of the alleged grievances,*—and were most strongly supported by the Lieutenant Governor, who had the best means of ascertaining their truth, I considered it my duty to proceed forthwith to Graham's Town, in order to consult, and make arrangements with Col. Hare, as to what alterations and amendments it appeared absolutely necessary to endeavor to effect in the treaties with the Kafir nation; and although all will admit that these treaties are based on the great christian principles of humanity and peace, still it was evident by *a four years' experience that they did not in detail work with that justice to either party*, which their original framer, the late Lieut.-Governor, had anticipated, when framing treaties, having for their sole and only object the maintenance of a peaceful and humane intercourse between the colonists and their uncivilized neighbors. It therefore became evident to me that my duty to the colony, whose interests I am sworn to protect and promote to the best of my judgment, required me to use every legitimate means in my power to procure the consent of the Kafirs chiefs and Tribes to the alteration and amendment of those articles of the treaties which were working in direct opposition to their original design.

Gentlemen, with these views I undertook the task I had allotted myself; feeling pursuaded that by impressing on the minds of the Kafirs the exemplary *and humane conduct of the Colonists, who had never infringed those treaties in the slightest degree, but have long submitted to their losses with a forbearance that merited my warmest praise,** I should find little difficulty in gaining from the Kafirs a willing consent to do that which their reason and great acuteness must point out as founded on justice; for I assure you,

* The Governor bore constant testimony to the good conduct of the colonists —which well contrasts with the picture he draws of that of the really "irreclaimable savages." On his journey to Cape Town, he thus adverted to the subject in his reply to an address from the inhabitants of the District of George:—

"It must always be a source of great satisfaction to me to learn that the measures which I adopt for the benefit of the Colony are approved of and appreciated by the public. In proposing and carrying through the amendments to the Kafir treaties, I had the full and free consent of the chiefs themselves, and *I only did that which justice demanded*, without involving the humane principles on which these treaties were based by the original framer; and I have great pleasure in *stating my hopes* that the treaties as amended will now work in such a manner as *to check the daring depredations which were so ruinous to the peaceful and industrious farmers, and of which, after four years' experience, they had just cause of complaint; more particularly, as I must ever firmly declare, that no one act of oppression or injustice has been committed by the colonists against the Kafirs since the treaties were made—a fact to the truth of which the chiefs give their united testimony.* I trust the same moderation will ever continue to influence the proceedings of the Frontier Colonists."

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gentlemen, *no civilized nation have a clearer knowledge of justice than the Kafirs, when they choose to exert it.*

I am happy to say, I succeeded in my wishes, and the treaties, as amended, will ere long be laid before this Council for ratification; —but, gentlemen, it would be a derilection of my duty were I not thus publicly to state how sincerely and how actively I was supported in this task by the Lieutenant Governor, and the whole of the resident agents, without whose faithful co-operation and active exertions, it would have been vain for me to have attempted the object in view, the influence of these gentlemen among the Chiefs and Tribes to which they are attached, being deservedly very great. I have also much pleasure in stating that *I found a very general wish among all persons and parties to give me every support, and to the Public Press of Graham's Town I was indebted for avoiding all expression of opinion which might, in any way, by prejudicing the public, be detrimental to the measure I wished to carry into execution.* In short, gentlemen, I am bound thus publicly to declare, that during the whole period I was on the frontier, and particularly while employed in effecting the alterations and amendments of the treaties, *I was cordially and sincerely supported by all;* and I trust that the measure having been thus carried into execution with the free consent of the Kafirs and the public support and approbation of the colony, the future prosperity and peace of the frontier districts, and our friendly relations with our *at present* uncivilized neighbours, will be secured; the good effects of the change being already apparent, as may be seen by the returns of stolen cattle for the last four months, and by the reports of the public prints.

The receipt at Natal of the Governor's despatches, of the 5th and 27th January, relative to the alleged wanton attack upon N'Capai, was answered in a tone of indignant denial by the Volksraad at Pietermauritzberg;—we have it here:—

Pietermauritzburg, 7th April, 1841.

To His Excellency Major General
Sir G. Napier, K.C.B., Governor
and Commander in Chief of the
Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's communications of the 5th and 27th of last January, which reached this place, the first on the 7th, and the last on the 16th ultimo, and were this day laid on the table in our assembly.

We regret being obliged to say, that we cannot conceal that the contents of the first mentioned letter were far from agreeable to us,

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in consequence of the very severe reflections which Your Excellency has thought fit to make upon us and our proceedings, upon *exparte*, and, as we believe, upon partial information, with respect to the readiness displayed by Your Excellency to designate, by anticipation, our attack upon Capaai, a "groundless and unprovoked attack," &c., before it was possible that Your Excellency could have heard both sides of the case; and lastly, with respect to Your Excellency's announcement that we must consider ourselves as British subjects, which last point was to us as incomprehensible as it was unexpected; the object of *now making* which declaration we cannot understand, and upon which we could make many remarks. But as we are rather disposed to interpret everything in the spirit displayed by Your Excellency in the concluding portion of your letter, namely,—in the spirit of amity and humanity—we will gladly avoid all discussion of an opposite tendency, and confine ourselves to the case in question, namely, our recent measures against N'Capaai.

We are willing to give an explanatiou of our proceedings in that case, first, because Your Excellency's protection was solicited, as well by the Missionaries as by Faku and N'Capaai; secondly, because they lie betwixt us and the Colonial territory,—and we therefore cannot deem Your Excellency's interference unreasonable,—and lastly, because we are inclined to lay all our public proceedings entirely open, and to submit ourselves to the judgment of the civilized world. Not that we imagine we are unblameable; or that we may not have erred in one way or other, for we fear that few of even the most politic governments in the world can boast of such exemption from error; but because we are convinced in our own consciences that it is not our object to injure, persecute, attack, or commit violence upon any one who has not previously done so to us, or where we are constrained for our own safety and protection and for the maintenance of our just rights, to have recourse to arms. We shall, therefore, gladly submit ourselves to the general laws of equity and justice; and should be sincerely grieved had we been led by erroneous information to do the slightest injury to those who are really innocent.

Those who have long lived in the vicinity of Kafirs, or have come into frequent collision with that people, best know with what dexterity they have learnt to steal from their youth upwards, and with what artifices they can color or conceal their deeds, boldly denying them in the face of the clearest proofs; and we, accordingly, long allowed ourselves to be plundered by the predatory gangs of N'Capaai, before we came to the resolution of checking them. Ever since the year 1838, there have been sundry instances of thefts of cattle, of which the traces were followed to considerable distances in the direction of N'Capaai's Kraals. We soon learnt from other Caffers that the robbers consisted of an assemblage of rapacious and

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sanguinary Bushmen, whose kraals lay in ravines not far from those of N'Capaai, and whom the latter joined in their expeditions, as well in the direction of the colonial boundary as against us; some of our patroles also overtook some of the Bushmen, with the stolen cattle, and killed some few of them, and they were almost always accompanied by Caffers, some of whom those patroles took prisoners, who confessed that they belonged to N'Capaai, and corroborated our previous information; the patroles on that occasion even pursued the traces until within sight of N'Capaai's Kraal. And besides, this Chief was long known to us as a restless person, and one who loved war, who was known as the murderer of a certain Englishman named Walker with his companions, when on their way to the Colony from this quarter, and as, in the year 1838, we had, by an interchange of letters, concluded a sort of amicable understanding with Fako, we were even requested by him, in the course of last year, to allow Captain Foto to come to assist him against an attack from N'Capaai. It is also known to us that this Chief was constantly strengthening his force by enlisting robbers and deserters, even from among the Zoolas,—and as our loss in stolen cattle which we had traced in the direction of his residence (not to mention the great numbers that had been lost but which were not traced, and of which some were, notwithstanding, now found in his kraals) already exceeded 700 oxen and cows, and 50 horses; so that some of our men were plundered of their whole means of subsistence,—it at length became unavoidable to send an expedition against these robbers, as was done accordingly in December last. When on their march the Commandant, Mr. Pretorius, sent to Fako three of our burghers who then found that just before their arrival N'Capaai had again been in hostile collision with Fako—they even saw some of the killed. Fako was then apprised of our expedition and its object and at the same time assured of our friendship, and requested to come to the Commandant, who was desirous of taking that opportunity of entering into a permanent treaty of peace, &c. He on the other hand expressed himself highly gratified with the mission, but declined to come, on the ground of age and ill health, adding that he deemed it unnecessary to make peace with us, as we had always been friends and never enemies. Our messengers further obtained from Fako and his Captains a full confirmation of all the information we had previously received, & also that N'Capaai was our sworn enemy; that he had before, in the war with Dingaan, offered to assist him against us, and tried to induce Fako to join him in an attack upon us, and on his refusal, had now made war upon him with a view to possessing himself of his (Fako's) power and authority, in order to undertake his intended attack against us. He informed us further that N'Capaai had still many of our stolen cattle in his possession; that the Bushmen only kept the horses for hunting; that he even believed that among some of the booty he

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had recently taken from N'Capaai there were some cattle which belonged to us, and which he professed his readiness to restore.

Upon this information we proceeded against N'Capaai, and it appeared by the result that we had not been misinformed, for among the cattle which we took we found several of our stolen cattle; and the women whom we interrogated separately, unanimously confirmed what we had heard from Fako as to N'Capaai's hostility to us, and his repeated depredations, adding that N'Capaai would have already made an attack upon us, had not his people been deterred by fear from such an undertaking; also that the stolen cattle had been driven by circuitous routes, which when described, were the same on which our patrols had followed the traces; that the Bushmen nearly always kept the horses, and that most of the stolen cattle were in N'Capaai's own kraal, which we had not reached; that he kept most of them himself, because the colonial cattle were finer than the Kafir cattle. They also told us, unasked, one circumstance namely, that when on a particular occasion N'Capaai's people brought a fine lot of oxen from the upper part of the Togala, among which there were many white with red on the ribs (agreeing exactly with the description of oxen stolen from Jacob Snyman and others at the Togala, and of which the traces had been followed a long distance), he, N'Capaai, examined them all the same night by fire light, and subsequently sent 20 of them to the Missionary, who was much pleased with them, and expressed much gratitude to N'Capaai on that account.

The Commandant then sent these women to N'Capaai, with a threatening message, that should he henceforth continue to steal, he might expect a more serious visit. We learnt, however, that Foto's Caffers had carried off some women.

Our expedition took about 3,000 head of cattle, of which one-third were calves, thus barely enough to compensate for the plunder —independent of the great expenses usually incurred by such expeditions; and although there were still many thousand cattle in sight, the expedition would take no more, but returned forthwith; having first sent another mission to Fako, with a present as a mark of friendship, which (mission) was received by him like the former; and as the Commandant now sent his saddle horse, Fako was again invited to come to him, but excused himself as before, sending, however, one of his Captains with authority to act for him, who was received with much friendship by the Commandant, and dismissed with assurances of a friendly disposition on our side. From this it is difficult to understand how Fako could have seen reason to request protection against an attack from us, unless it were furnished to him by the missionary or some other person. We are, however, very glad that Your Excellency has stationed a detachment of troops at the Umzimvobo, as we trust that the troops will have sufficient influence to protect Fako against N Capaai; and that they

will also assure the latter that their protection is no license to him, to enable him now to plunder us more securely.

We could extend these observations, but are assured that this must be more than enough for the present, and that it will remove all suspicion, at least of our having made a groundless and unprovoked attack upon N'Capaai, or that we could have undertaken such an expedition on account of any propects of gain—as we have not been able even to compensate the wear and tear of wagons and harness, the loss of oxen and horses, &c., although it was in our power to have taken more cattle.

Finally, we can assure your Excellency, that neither N'Capaai, nor Fako, nor any one else, need ever fear any the slightest offence from us, if they will only let us alone; but on the other hand, we might just as well allow ourselves to be all killed, as to see our property stolen from us from time to time, sitting looking on like cowardly spectators, without maintaining our rights against such aggressors.

We have learnt with concern that a proposition has been made to the Government in England, by a respectable society, to form a combination against us among the wild, rapacious, and sanguinary barbarians; we hope, however, that such an inhuman and cruel course of policy will not be adopted; and cannot believe that the British Government has fallen into the error of desiring to find nothing but guilt in the whites, and to hear nothing but excuses for the blacks—for it is surely the most certain mode of maintaining a lasting peace, that crime be repressed as well in black as white.

We have the honor to be, with all respect, Your Excellency's humble and obedient servants, in the name of the Volksraad.

(Signed) J. PRINSLOO, President,
J. J. BURGER, Secretary.

To this His Excellency replied as follows, refusing further communication unless they returned to their allegiance:—

Government House, Cape Town,
10th June, 1841.

To the President of the Volksraad,
Pietermauritzburg.

His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, has received the last communication, dated 7th April, 1841, from the President of the Volksraad of the Emigrant Farmers, at present located at Pietermauritzburg, Natal, and adjoining territory, and although his Excellency is much gratified with their disclaiming all intention on the part of their countrymen, of molesting the Kafirs or other native tribes, and with the expression of their wish to live in peace and amity with all men, the Go-

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vernor cannot enter into any negociation, or further communication with them, until they distinctly acknowledge their full and entire allegiance as British subjects to their Sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen of England, and further declare their willingness to obey the lawful authority of the British Government.

When the Emigrant Farmers do this, His Excellency the Governor will be most happy and willing to communicate with them and enter into negociations and arrangements, which shall be based upon such principles of justice and generosity on the part of the British Government, as his Excellency doubts not will secure to the Emigrants, as well as to the Aborigines, that tranquility and peaceful possession of property so much desired, and without which the Emigrant Farmers, Her Majesty's subjects, must be aware no real security can exist; for so long as they disclaim the authority of the British Government, and attempt to withdraw allegiance to the Queen, His Excellency, as Her Majesty's Representative in Southern Africa, can only view them as misguided and erring British Subjects.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

The hopes and expectation expressed by His Excellency to the Council on the 22nd March, that the amendments and alterations he had made in the Stockenstrom Treaties were likely to work wonders, were not destined to be realized. Six months scarcely elapsed before plunder and bloodshed became as rife as before—and so really alarming was the state of affairs that it was considered requisite to convene a public meeting of the settlers in Graham's Town, the Capital of the Eastern Province, on the 21st June, when the following resolutions were unanimously come to, by men of all parties and denominations, on the subject of *Kafir depredations* and *unrestrained vagrancy*, the still-remaining *unredressed* grievances which had driven the Dutch farmers across the border:—

RESOLVED—

1. That the late daring outrages by the Kafirs, or other Natives, on this Frontier, have excited very general alarm; and in the opinion of this meeting call for rigid enquiry and for the adoption of such measures as may, if possible, prevent a recurrence of them.

Moved by Mr. FRANKLIN, Editor of the *Cape Frontier Times*,
Seconded by Mr. L. F. KIFT, Merchant.

2. That in the opinion of this meeting the practice which has obtained of allowing Kafirs and other Foreigners to enter the Colony —often on the most frivolous pretences—is one cause of the frequent

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robberies which occur in all the Frontier Districts.

Moved by Mr. COLLETT, } Farmers.
Seconded by Mr. G. GILBERT, }

3. That although the Government authorities on the Frontier have, in the most praiseworthy manner, exerted themselves of late to suppress the vagrancy of "Native Foreigners," yet that it still exists to a serious extent; and is in the opinion of the meeting destructive to that state of tranquility which it is so desirable to attain.

Moved by Mr. T. NELSON, } Merchants.
Seconded by Mr. W. KIDSON, }

4. That this meeting views the unsettled state of this Frontier as most injurious to the welfare of the Colony; that it has a direct and powerful tendency to depreciate the value of fixed property; to check a spirit for Emigration, and to paralyse the efforts of the Inhabitants—particularly of the farming interest—for the prosperity of the country.

Moved by Mr. W. COCK, } Merchants.
Seconded by Mr. W. OGILVIE, }

5. That this meeting is of opinion that the frequent and audacious inroads of the Kafirs into the Colony, and robberies committed by them, are to be attributed to the defective principles of the existing treaties; and it is of opinion that tranquility can only be maintained by the adoption of a system which shall bring the Kafirs within British jurisdiction, and place them under efficient control;—and the meeting is further of opinion that such a system will be the best and the only one calculated to benefit that people and to raise them in civilization.

Moved by Mr. R. GODLONTON, Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*.

Seconded by Mr. W. STANTON, Contractor for Provisions to the Troops.

6. That Copies of these Resolutions be transmitted to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies; to His Excellency the Governor; to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor; and to the Editors of the Colonial Papers, with request that they may be published.

Moved by Mr. L. H. MEURANT, } Merchants.
Seconded by Mr. C. RHODES, }

As if to irritate the British inhabitants of the border, oblige them to follow the steps of the Dutch emigrants, and force them from the strong position they had taken up of *constitutional resistance,* the harsh measure was resorted to this month of June to suppress a private assembly of the resident

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farmers, living in the neighbourhood of Fort Beaufort, who had agreed to meet together for the purpose of discussing the substantialities of a good dinner and the means of organizing an association for the promotion of agriculture—the improvement of stock—the obtainment of labor—*the protection of property*, and other matters of general importance to farming interests. The authorities, alarmed at the idea of the residents taking the matter of *protection* of their property into their consideration—for it was indeed a severe rebuke to their cherished system of Frontier policy—on the ground that their sanction had not been given to such a proceeding (which was not for discussing public measures and political subjects), forbid and prohibited the meeting, and a body of as loyal gentlemen as could be found in any of the Queen's settlements, were not allowed to enjoy a social repast and converse upon the subjects of their common welfare.

The following very judicious observations of the local press, made at this time, regarding the relative state of the revolted Natal emigrants, and the loyal subjects of Great Britain who still clung to the Colony, are worthy of preservation :—

The emigration of farmers and others from this colony to Port Natal, must be viewed, when disconnected with the evils attending it, as a grand experiment, fraught with momentous consequences to the South-Eastern portion of this vast benighted continent. Those who have taken a part in that enterprise have had in the great majority of cases, no definite idea as to the object of their journey, nor of the difficulties and dangers they would be called to encounter; —still less did it enter their imagination that they were engaging in an undertaking which in future time would be recorded as one of the most memorable in the annals of South Eastern Africa.

Time, however, elevates the enquirer, as it were, upon a lofty mound, from which he may look back and survey the whole course of this enterprise—and not only so, but it assists him to look *forward* and to see—it may be through a long vista of years—at least the outline of those important consequences which this movement must work towards the regeneration of debased Africa.

We are not very much surprised that the narrow-minded and prejudiced should have confidently predicted the utter failure of a project apparently so wild and dangerous. But it is now demonstrated that such predictions were unsound and such fears groundless. The enterprise *has* succeeded, and a British Colony, *despite of the*

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Government, has—with many defects we admit—been planted in advance of the Kaffarian Tribes, and will never more, as we believe and most fervently hope, be rooted out. We view this comparatively little band of adventurers as the pioneers in that great onward movement which we trust will never stop till Africa is thoroughly leavened with European principles, and the humanizing effects of civilization are experienced by all her inhabitants. The British government has already been taught a most useful lesson. It has been shown that a body of men, like the emigrants from this Colony, are able to maintain themselves without foreign aid amidst numerous warlike tribes; that they can bend those tribes to submission, and can live with them on terms of amity and mutually advantageous intercourse.

The farmers at Natal without external assistance from any quarter, *stand at this moment with reference to the natives, in a much prouder position than does this Colony with all its lavish expenditure and with all its military array and pageantry. None of the native tribes would dare to treat the emigrants as the people of this Colony are continually being treated by the neighbouring Kafirs. And why is this? The answer is, because they know that it is their interest to cultivate the relations of peace, and from a thorough conviction that an opposite course would be followed by quick and certain punishment.*

Her Majesty the Queen of England's decision upon the proposal of the Emigrant Farmers' Council of the 14th Jan., to acknowledge the independence of the Boers, was communicated to them in the following terms; but it is to be regretted that no more explicit pledge was given in that document for a redress of those *real* grievances which the emigrants complained had driven them from their hearths and homes. The slave-compensation-wrong was a "*fait accompli*," and could not be redeemed, but it would have been but just and proper to have promised that enactments for the suppression of vagrancy should be passed, and wholesome regulations for the prevention and immediate punishment of depredation by the aborigines be made for the Colony, before an unconditional return to allegiance was exacted from the people at Natal—for had these been done *in the Colony* the confidence of the expatriated farmers would at once have been established, and they would have seen the government were in earnest, and would ratify to the full extent the otherwise very *vague* and unsatis-

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factory promise it now made, to treat on terms conducive to their permanent interests, based on *justice* and EXPEDIENCY:—

Government House, Cape of Good Hope,
3d September, 1841.

The President of the Council,
Pietermauritzburg.

Sir,—With reference to my communication of the 10th June last, I have now to acquaint you for the information of your fellow-colonists at present occupying the country in the neighborhood of Port Natal, that Her Majesty has received and considered the proposal made by the Council, explanatory of their views of the relation in which they wish in future to stand towards Great Britain; and Her Majesty has desired me to inform the Emigrant Farmers that she cannot acknowledge a portion of Her own subjects as an Independent Republic, but that on their receiving a military force from this place, their trade will be placed on the footing of a trade of a British possession.

I am, therefore, desirous to learn that the Emigrant Farmers are so far well-advised and well-disposed as to accede to the commands of the Queen, and in the event of their forwarding to me through their Council, the expression of their readiness to comply with these commands, I shall be prepared to treat with them on such terms as will be conducive to their permanent interests as well as to the directions of Her Majesty; and I shall be prepared to recommend to Her Majesty the adoption of such measures in regard to the settlement of their lands as shall be proposed by the Council and shall be found to be based on *justice* and EXPEDIENCY.

I am, Sir, &c.
(Signed) GEO. NAPIER,
Governor Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Smith, the commander of the expedition to protect Faku, who had entrenched himself at the Umgazi River, on receipt of this communication to the Boers, accompanied it by a letter from himself recommending submission; but still only adverting to the *intentions* of government in regard to their lands without any reference to the other grievances of which they complained, and which they feared they should have to experience if they were again united to the original government from which they had separated. It will be perceived that Captain Smith remarks, the probability that many, not seeing the original of the Governor's letter, might be

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misled, and that its contents might be shown about in a distorted shape; why not then have taken the simple measure of sending to the council, and the whole population, instead of a written statement—a mere letter—influential men, personally known to the emigrants, whose objects and character were alike above suspicion, and reason with them on the folly of further opposition to the *might* of England, and the utter hopelessness in the long run of resistance?—

Umgazi Camp, Sept. 27, 1841.

Sir—By this opportunity I have forwarded to the care of J. S. Maritz, the Landdrost of Natal, a letter in duplicate from the Governor (one copy being in Dutch,) to the Volksraad, wherein it is stated that "the Queen had received and considered the proposal made by the Council, explanatory of their views of the relation in which they wish in future to stand towards Great Britain;" and had desired the Governor "to inform the Emigrant Farmers that she cannot acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent republic, but that, on their receiving a military force from the Colony, their trade will be placed on the footing of a trade of a British possession." "I am, therefore," the Governor adds, "desirous to learn that the Emigrant Farmers are so far well-advised and well-disposed as to accede to the commands of the Queen; and in the event of their forwarding to me, through their Council, the expression of their readiness to comply with those commands, I shall be prepared to treat with them in such terms as will be conducive to their permanent interest, as well as to the directions of Her Majesty; and I shall be prepared to recommend to Her Majesty the adoption of such measures in regard to the settlement of their lands as shall be proposed by the council, and shall be found to be based on justice and expediency."

Such are the liberal views expressed in this letter, and I *know* and can answer you, and such of the Farmers as may be disposed to enter into its discussion, that nothing can be more generous and open than the intentions of the Government towards them, as regards the lands now in their possession, and their property in general. I most earnestly hope, therefore, that the communication may be received and discussed in a spirit of conciliation, and that the Farmers may perceive that, in coming to an amicable arrangement with the Government, they are only pursuing the course best adapted to secure their own interests, and the stability of their present possession. I have been thus full in entering on the question, because it will enable you to disabuse those, to whom the meaning of the Governor's letter may be shewn in a distorted shape, and, also, because it is probable you may not see the original letter. How

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they can be so unwise as to dream of existing as an Independent Government, when they must be aware that NATAL (their only port) can at any time be taken from them, seems to me very strange, and I yet hope, therefore, by pursuing the conciliatory course His Excellency's communication recommends, they may once again be united to the original government, from whence they have separated themselves, and now they cannot well doubt of its kind intentions towards them.

I am, Sir,
J. C. SMITH, Captain Ct.

The replication of the assertors of independence was in keeping with their whole conduct. Had they known the power of the country from which they had revolted no doubt it would have been different, and, for the cause of humanity, it is to be regretted it was not so; for the result of that reply was the destruction of a considerable force of the troops sent to answer the defiance it breathed. The council's despatch is as under, which closed an absurd correspondence, and henceforth Natal affairs were destined to the test of the "*ultima ratio regem*:"—

Pietermauritzburg, 11th October, 1841.

Sir,—Your Excellency's communication of the 3d September last, was received by us yesterday, and has been this day laid before our council, which was just holding its session. We have the honor to state in reply thereto, that we regret the refusal of Her Majesty to acknowledge us an independent Republic,—still considering us as a portion of Her Majesty's subjects, and that Your Excellency should make that communication to us for the information of our fellow-colonists, with a further offer that if we would receive a military force from Cape Town, we should be placed in regard to trade upon the same footing as any British possession. We presume that both Her Majesty and Your Excellency have been misinformed regarding us, our title to the right of independence, and with respect to the right we have to the land we occupy. We are Dutch-South-Africans by birth; immediately after we quitted Her Majesty's territories in South Africa we published our independence, and from that time to this moment we have acted as an independent people, governing ourselves according to our own laws, and consequently ceased to be British subjects; the country we inhabit we have legally acquired, and it has never been a British province or colony to this moment; as it has therefore pleased Her Majesty the Queen of England to reject our very fair proposals, as we consider them to be, we are inclined on our part to remain on

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the same footing as we have to this moment considered ourselves, from the time we left the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in regard to Her Majesty's Government; and notwithstanding Your Excellency's repeated communications of our being British subjects and colonists, we must maintain, that according to all rights of civilized nations, we can neither be considered the one nor the other, nor can we consent to Her Majesty's proposal to receive a military force while we have not asked for it and have no need for it at present for our protection, particularly now that we are in peace with all nations.

Your Excellency's proposal to enter into a treaty with us under the influence of a military force, and without our being acquainted with the terms of agreement, with the exception of a conditional possession of landed properties (estates) to which we presume to have an undoubted right,—appears to us so unintelligible and undefined that, unless we are further elucidated on the subject, we are compelled to acknowledge that we cannot comprehend the object of it. We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servants,

(Signed) J. PRINSLO, President.

(Signed) JACS. JOHS. BURGER, Secretary.

In the name and by the desire of
the Council of the people.

The continued depredations by the Kafirs, and increased embarrassment of the Natal question, having been forcibly called to the attention of the inhabitants of the Frontier, another large public meeting was held in Graham's Town, on the 30th of October, when, among other resolutions, the following were unanimously adopted—Thomas Philipps, Esq., Justice of the Peace, presiding:—

Moved by Mr. W. R. Thompson, seconded by Mr. W. Stanton, and unanimously adopted:—

"That another cause of serious apprehension, as well as of great loss and embarrassment, arises from the defective character and incompetent working of the present frontier system: That this meeting is of opinion that the existing policy towards the native tribes is either insufficient to preserve the peace of the frontier and to secure the property of the inhabitants against continual plunder; or that those who have the working of it fail in the discharge of those duties which are entrusted to them; that in either case this meeting is of opinion that the interference of Her Majesty's government is imperatively called for; inasmuch as that while the Caffers are rapidly increasing their means of aggression, the border inhabitants are becoming daily, from continual robberies, less able to resist them;

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that under these circumstances this meeting cannot hesitate to express an opinion, that unless a more vigorous policy be adopted, one which shall restrain the Caffers from the commission of that robbery and violence which are now of such frequent occurence, the consequences will be a continual increasing expenditure for the protection of the frontier, and the prostration of all those hopes which have been indulged of this fine Province attaining to that eminence to which, with its valuable products, its rare advantages of position, of soil and of climate, and with the active enterprise and increasing industry of its inhabitants, it is unquestionably entitled."

Moved by Mr. W. Ogilvie, seconded by Mr. E. L. Kift, and unanimously adopted,

"That this meeting is also deeply impressed with the existing necessity for the adoption by government of immediate and decisive measures relative to Natal; that it views that vacillation of purpose which has been hitherto displayed by the British authorities, as fraught with danger to this colony, to the native tribes at Natal, and to the emigrant farmers; that in the opinion of this meeting, the non-intervention of the British government is directly calculated to lead to consequences which it is alike to the interest and to the credit of the British name to avert; that the present appears to this meeting to be a most favorable time for settling this important subject on a secure and satisfactory foundation, and that humanity to the aborigines, the welfare and safety of the emigrants themselves, the future peace and the advancement of the commercial prosperity of this colony, alike call upon the government for decided and immediate interference."

Moved by Mr. J. Black, seconded by Mr. W. R. Thompson, and unanimously adopted,

"That the resolutions of this meeting be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Chairman, together with a copy of the Memorial on the subject of Emigration, recently forwarded from this district, and on which His Excellency has reported in his Despatches referred to."

At several parts of these pages descriptions have been given of the much lauded country of Natal, both by the earliest and other visitors to that country, and they all seem to agree in admiration of its beauty, fertility and adaptation for a settlement. I shall now give the latest account, and that from the pen of a talented and highly respected missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion, the Rev. J. Archbell, at present a resident there. The communication was addressed to the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal,* in September, 1841:—

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To the Editor: Sir,—Having recently visited Natal and made myself acquainted with its local, civil, and political circumstances, I embrace the earliest opportunity of forwarding to you the results of some of my observations.

The distance of Natal from Graham's Town is by land something more than 600 miles, as 17 days ride, averaging at least 35 miles per diem, brought me to the Dutch camp on the Umlasi, eight miles from the Port.

The intervening country varies greatly in quality and feature, and may, on account of the distinctness of its character, be divided into four parts, each rising in beauty and rich fertility above the other as we proceed to the eastward.

The lines of demarcation are the principal rivers which intersect it at nearly equal distances, each part being distinguished by its peculiar mineral and botanical productions. The parts adjacent to Natal are superior to the rest, and exceed in capability any country I have yet seen in Southern Africa. The verdant hills and prolific valleys, fertilized by numerous inexhaustible streams, teeming with rich vegetation of great variety, constitute it another Goshen, and fully justify the rapturous exclamations and glowing imagery employed in its description. A view of the country from an eminence is enchantingly picturesque and romantic, being agreeably broken and acclivous and richly studded with extensive patches of dense jungle, just rendered pervious by the pioneers of civilization, and the depredations which have been made upon the magnificent timber which there abounds, Such is the country running parallel with the coast for the distance of about 30 miles inland, from whence, to the very base of the Quathlamba range, it assumes a more undulating and entirely open character. Trees and bush of any kind are so rare that even fuel is difficult to be obtained.

The soil is similar to that everywhere found at the same distances from the sea; but here it is rendered peculiarly prolific by its *tropical* position and natural structure. Near to the sea it is sandy, but the interior parts are of red and fawn colored clay, especially on the elevations. The soil of the valleys and about the sources of rivers and fountains is a black mossy loam.

With the exception of the *vine*, every foreign plant that has been taken there has thriven well, and the native fruits indicate a propensity in the soil to uncommon luxuriance.

Some of these fruits are of exquisite flavor and will doubtless be held in great esteem and introduced into extensive use. One of these, the *Amathlala*, is very similar in appearance to, and about the size of a large orange. Another, equally abundant, and much more agreeable and useful, is the *Natakulua*. It is made into a very pleasant and valuable preserve.

Sweet Potatoes are raised here in almost unconsumable quanties,

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but principally near the coast, the sandy soil of which, is well suited to their culture. The *Banana* is found in some parts, and the castor oil tree is common here and attains to a large size. From the seed of the latter the natives, and I belive some of the emigrants, extract the oil, which has been pronounced very good, and the Zoolus use it as a substitute for fat, which of late years has become very scarce among them. *Cane* also is found here in great abundance and grows to the height of 15 or 20 feet. This, as well as the juice of the Euphorbia, which is everywhere found in large trees, may ultimately become articles of valuable export. The above juice has been ascertained by recent experiments to be reduceable to a texture and elasticity similar to that of Indian rubber, and may be found to answer some of the purposes for which that material is now in such great demand.

The woods of the country are many of them similar to those found in other parts of South East Africa: such as black and white stinkwood—red and white pear—iron—sneeze and assagai wood. There is also a kind of ebony, beautiful as rosewood and takes a fine polish. The Emigrants, as well as the Zoolus, call it *Tambuti*. In short, as to wood, here is a superabundance both in quality and quantity for any purpose. I had almost forgotten that inferior timber, the yellow-wood, which grows everywhere.

The climate of Natal is mild and temperate, being attended generally with a brilliant atmosphere, and free from those noxious vapours which rise from low swampy and marshy localities. The structure of the country points it out as one particularly favorable to health and longevity, and it is reported by those, who have now certainly had a sufficient trial to enable them to give an opinion, that it is free from most of the disorders which so frequently visit some of the neighboring parts. As, however, civilization advances, I suppose these will multiply, and, like the rust in the wheat, which till 1820 was unknown, will become a common plague. It is, however, certain that the fatal atmosphere of Delagoa is not felt here nor in any of the adjacent parts yet visited. While the winters are mild the summers are not injuriously hot, and this equality of temperature renders it at once a very agreeable and very fruitful country.

Though in its present luxuriant state the parts near the coast are evidently not suited for sheep, yet they are well adapted for the grazing of cattle; as the herds of the Emigrants seem to be doing well.

The open denuded country approaching the Quathlamba will be found moderately adapted for sheep walks, when a sufficient number shall have been introduced to keep down the vigorous vegetation; and as a whole, it is not perhaps the country that is unsuited for sheep so much as the *state* of the pasturage.

With regard to the Horse epidemic, last year's experience has

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proved that at Natal it is not more fatal than in any other part where it prevails. Numbers, it is true, died of it and in some parts not a horse was spared; but there are other parts where the influence of the epidemic was not felt. From this it may be inferred that as regards this almost irremedible disease, the Natal country will not be worse, at least, than others.

The civil condition of the Emigrants is much better than from men in their circumstances might have been looked for. They are settling down upon their farms without any regard to, or fear from the changes which, by all we hear, must shortly take place. Their anxieties are about their flocks and their lands, which latter they are cultivating extensively, and as they have no want of water they will, doubtless, under a permanent government, obtain a good return. Their habitations are mostly temporary, and their gardens, though well stocked with vegetables of every kind, and fruit trees of the second year, are not yet fenced and brought into that state of security from quadruped depredations which time only can effect.

The Farmers and their families are decently dressed, and though articles of clothing are at Natal enormously expensive, *they have not degenerated in their costume. Nor are they inattentive to religion.* Some, it is well known, possessed more than a nominal Christianity before they left the Colony, and their disastrous removal has not caused their zeal to abate. They have built a large temporary Church at the Umlasi, and a more permanent one at Bushman's Rand, where the Rev. Mr. Lindley is now officiating, and there, at least, the exterior of religion will be perpetuated. This, however, is not all that may be said on this subject. Many families that I visited continue to perform their private devotions, and regard religion, not as a matter of form merely, but of practice and enjoyment. On my arrival they received me very cordially, and assembled from all the circumjacent parts to attend Divine Worship at the Umlasi camp.

The Natives, who are very numerously interspersed in villages among the Emigrants, are a perfectly free people *and not the slaves we were some time ago led to suppose them.* The principles of freedom have been proclaimed throughout the whole emigration, and those orphans, who by war have fallen into their hands, are regularly indentured to respectable men, who must possess some reasonable probability of being able to fulfil the terms of the indenture. During my stay there one of these indentures fell into my hands, which I took the liberty of copying. The following is the copy, which, to prevent mistake, I give in the Dutch as I found it:—

"Het zy door deze kennelyk, dat Johan Philip Zietsman, Landdrost te Pietermauritzburg, op heden hebben uytbonden de Zulas Weeskinderen Zwartboy en na gessing 12 jaren, en Klaas

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oud 8 jaren en onder, by den Heer ———, aan deze maatschappy, behoorende, en onder deze voorwaarde nochtans, dat hy ——— gehouden en verplicht zal zyn deze weeskinderen behoorlyk te voorzien met de noodige voedzel en dekzel, en bekwaam te maaken tot een bestaanbaare zelfs onderhoud, een gene mishandeling aan de zelve te pleegen, tot een eider van hen den outerdom van 25 jaren zal hebben bekomen en bereikt, na welke tyd een eider van hen het regt zal hebben hen by eimand anders te mogen verhuren.

Het welk doende, enz.,

J. P. ZIETSMAN.

Accordeerd met bovenstaande verbintenis,
Pietermaritzburg, 16th Jan., 1841.

The name of the person is left out here as I do not think I should be warranted in taking the liberty of inserting it without the individual's permission, and it is not essential to my design in inserting the document in this communication. As to the document itself, while some question might be entertained as to the detail, it leaves no doubt as to the general views of the Emigrants on the subject of slavery.

The character of the Natal administration is Republican. The management of affairs rests upon an assembly, consisting of twenty-five members, chosen annually. They meet quarterly, and a President is elected at every sitting. The public servants are—three Landdrosts, one Commandant-General, one Harbour-Master, and a few subordinates in office. The former receive salaries of £100 each per annum.

There are a number of villages forming, but the places of any present importance are Pietermauritzburg, also called Bushman's Rand, and the Port. The former place is at present famous as the seat of government, but it obviously does not possess the suitability required for extensive resort or great commercial importance. The country at Pietermauritzburg, and about this spot, is flat, and, on account of the abundant supply of water from Bushman's River—well suited to agricultural purposes, but its denuded appearance not merely detracts from its beauty, but actually stamps deformity upon its features, whilst its entire lack of fuel, which is not to be found within 15 or 20 miles of its site, must for ever prevent it attaining superiority as a place of residence, or becoming of commercial importance.

The town consists of about 80 houses, none of which, with the exception of 4 or 5 are of a permanent character.—Several small buildings are in progress, yet it does not require much penetration to perceive that, with so many and decidedly superior inland sites, it never can become the *metropolis* of the colony, or the emporium of trade.

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Port Natal—the town itself having received no other name—possesses advantages which cannot be described in too striking colors. Its contiguity to the bay;—its superabundance of fuel as well as large timber;—its inexhaustible supply of water from *four Rivers, one of which has ten times more water than supplies the whole of Cape Town;* all point out the great importance of the locality. Two of these Rivers run into the bay, and a third (the Umlasi) within four miles of its margin. The stream of this River is equal to that of the Fish River, and may be conducted over a rich and fertile flat, leading to the present town and bay. The Umgani, which nature seems to have designed for supplying the town, can be led out without difficulty, and, by little more than opening a furrow will flow through the streets with a current commensurable to the utmost demands that can possibly be made upon it. In short, the whole, whether viewed in reference to quality or position, presents, as it were, material of the most suitable character —waiting only to be transformed, as art and fancy may deem best, into one of the most populous and delightfully situated Towns on the coast of Africa.

The population about the Bay is already considerable and is daily receiving new accessions, by the removal of several of the Dutch from the interior. The eagerness of many to procure plots of ground for building upon, is a sufficient guarantee for the early and large extension of the Town.

I remain, &c.,

J. ARCHBELL.

The reply of the Council of the Emigrant farmers of the 11th October, to His Exeellency the Governor's despatch of the 3rd September, elicited the following proclamation, containing a threat of resuming military occupation of the territories assumed by the Boers to belong to them, and warning them they would not be allowed to erect an independant state, they, notwithstanding their departure from the Colony, being still British subjects:—

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Major-General SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, K.C.B., *Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c. &c. &c.*

Whereas certain persons, being subjects, and chiefly natural born Subjects of her Majesty, have heretofore at various times emigrated

from this Colony, and have taken possession of Port Natal and certain territories adjacent or appertaining thereto :

And whereas I have lately received a letter, addressed to me, dated Pietermauritzberg, the 11th October, 1841, signed by J. Prinsloo, as President, and Jacs: Johannes Burger, as Secretary, of the Council of Emigrant Farmers, now residing at Port Natal, and in the Territory adjacent thereto, in which they inform me, in the name and by the desire of the said council, as they allege, that they claim to be, and to be recognized as, an Independent State or People, and declare that they are Dutch South Africans by birth, and have ceased to be British Subjects, and refuse to be recognized or treated as such ;—and whereas I have been informed that the said Council, at a Meeting held on the 2d of August, 1841, and subsequent days, passed a Resolution, by which they resolve, that all Kafirs inhabiting Port Natal and the territory thereunto appertaining, as well those Kafirs who were established at Port Natal, long previous to its occupation by the Emigrant Farmers, as others the subjects of Chiefs at peace with Her Majesty, and living at peace with all her Majesty's Subjects, shall be removed without their consent, from Port Natal and the Territory thereunto appertaining into the country lying between the Mouth of the Umtafoena and that of the Umzimvooboo, which country forms part of the Territories belonging to Faku, a chief at peace with Her Majesty, without having obtained the consent of the said Faku, from which most unjust and illegal proceeding there is reason to apprehend that warfare and bloodshed will be occasioned ;—and whereas I am desirous to prevent any of her Majesty's Subjects from being through ignorance misled by the evil disposed and mischievous or misguided persons who have written or authorised the writing and forwarding to me of the said Letter, dated the 11th of October, 1841, and am determined to prevent, to the utmost of my power, the possibility of the occurrence of warfare and bloodshed within any of the said Territories ; I have therefore deemed it expedient and necessary to declare, as I do hereby proclaim and declare, that the said Emigrants have no right or claim to be recognized as an Independent State or People ; that Her Majesty will not recognize them as such, and will not permit or suffer any portion of her subjects to form themselves into an Independent State or People within any of the said territories —and that, in obedience to the orders of my Sovereign, I shall resume the military occupation of the same, by sending thither, without delay, a detachment of Her Majesty's Forces.—And I hereby warn all British-born Subjects, and particularly those who, after the Eighteenth day of January, 1806, have been born within this Colony, of parents who, at the time of their birth, by reason of their permanent residence in this Colony, or otherwise, owed allegiance to, and were subjects of, the British Crown, that they cannot, by their removal from this Colony to any other place whatsoever, divest them-

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selves of the allegiance which they owe, by reason of their birth, to the British Crown, or of the character of British subjects, and notwithstanding any such removal, must and will still be considered, and are liable to be treated as British Subjects: and I hereby warn all British subjects, whether by birth or otherwise, against the consequences of in any wise resisting or opposing Her Majesty's forces, or the due exercise of Her Majesty's rightful authority, and that they and all others who shall engage in any seditious practices, or shew any disaffection to Her Majesty, will forfeit all claim, as well for their families as themselves, to any favorable consideration of their claims to any Lands now possessed by them; in any settlement or arrangement which Her Majesty may deem it right and fitting to make touching and concerning the same.

And I further warn all persons, not being British subjects, and not acting under the commission or authority of some established and recognised State or Potentate, who shall within any of the Territories herein-before mentioned, be in Arms for the purpose of attacking or forcibly resisting or opposing Her Majesty's Forces, or of attacking the Subjects of any Native Chief at peace with, or under the protection of Her Majesty, that they will thereby contravene the Law of Nations, place themselves out of the protection of the Law, and render themselves liable to be dealt with as the interests of the Crown may require and circumstances may render advisable.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement, at the Cape of Good Hope, this 2nd Day of December, 1841.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,
(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Act. Secretary to Government.

I close the proceedings of this year with the following observations made by the Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal* on the announcement of the intended military re-occupation:—

The announcement by the government of this Colony of an intention to take military occupation of NATAL, as set forth in a proclamation inserted in our last, is a subject involving so many grave and important considerations, that it would be out of place were we not to make it a leading topic of remark on the present occasion.

We do not pretend to know anything of the intentions of government beyond what is officially declared; but if we are take that declaration for the *full* amount of what is intended to be done, and if Port Natal is to be made a military station, and nothing more, *then the troops had better remain where they are, as every farthing*

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expended in their removal will be a sheer waste of time and of public money.

What is wanted at Natal at this moment is civil government, and too much care cannot be taken that this and military occupation are not confounded. A suitable military force to give efficiency to the civil power, until it be fully established, will be unquestionably requisite,—but beyond this the interference of the military should not be permitted. *A military Dictatorship will not be tolerated in South or South-Eastern Africa,* nor are there any circumstances in the case in question which call for the adoption of any such extreme measure.

Everything depends upon the first proceedings of the government, and on this subject, therefore, we are most anxious that error should not be commitred. Firmness, tempered with justice and moderation, will effect wonders—indecision, contumely, and violence, will excite a feeling of opposition that it may be very difficult to allay, and which in its moral effect will vibrate to the remotest part of Southern Africa.

It must not be forgotten that the emigrants at Natal have strong claims to the country where they now are,—and which cannot be set aside on any existing plea without treating them with flagrant injustice. *Let it not be forgotten that their removal from this Colony was not a covert act, done in darkness and in silence,—or with a seditious or sinister object. Their intention was openly announced: their march was performed in the light of day; their destination was pointed out distinctly, and the whole of the facts connected with the case were recorded and published to the world as they occurred by the Press of the Colony. What more could the government require? Did it prohibit their departure? On the contrary, the highest official authority—the representative of the Sovereign—declared that it would amount to an act of tyranny were measures adopted to prevent their removal. The emigration, therefore, took place, not merely with the full knowledge,—but with the publicly recorded sanction of the Executive government of this Province.*

Nor are we aware that the emigrants, as a collective and deliberate body, have done any act which can warrant the government of this Colony in treating them as those who have taken up arms against the British Power. That they have been brought into hostile collision with the natives arose out of circumstances which the emigrants did not foresee, and which our government, when it had the opportunity, did not attempt to prevent. Once entered on their hazardous enterprise it was not in human nature to submit passively to be robbed and massacred by the native hordes of the interior; hence, when they were wantonly attacked and plundered by Matzelikatse, and when they were afterwards inveigled into Dingaan's territory, and there mercilessly butchered, they were

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driven by the all-powerful principle of self-defence to take up arms, and these were not laid down until they had swept those two powerful Chiefs, the scourge and terror of S.E. Africa, from those territories which they had so long cursed by their deeds of blood and of violence. The attack upon N'Capai* is quite of a different character to either of these. In this they appear to have been the aggressors, but as this act is disavowed by the ruling power, it can only in fairness be viewed as being an unlawful proceeding on the part of those actually engaged in it.

We are not going, nor are we at all inclined to defend all the transactions of the emigrants. Many of them we know are indefensible; but still great allowance should be made for the circumstances in which the emigrants have been placed and the difficulties which they have had to surmount. They have very dearly won the wilderness where they now are—and having accomplished this at an immense sacrifice, it is but reasonable that those who now step in to reap what they have not sown should do so in a friendly spirit, and with a manifest disposition rather to second the well-directed efforts of the emigrants, than to impede them in their onward movement. No government can be effective that is in direct opposition to public opinion, or that does not command the respect and the suffrages of the well-intentioned part of the community.

It may, we are aware, be deemed premature to make suggestions now; but still on the other hand, to wait till mistakes shall be committed and then to step forth to censure and point out how they might have been avoided, would be a course of procedure that would only betray a captious spirit, which it is our anxious desire on the present occasion to avoid. We are most desirous that our remarks should lead to some practical result, and knowing, as we do, that the Land question will be the most difficult which the government will be called to encounter, we venture to make them under the impression, and in the hope that, if received in the same spirit as that in which they are offered, they may not be altogether unproductive of future advantage. This journal will be at Natal *before* the troops, and may, for aught we know, be more effectual in allaying the incipient risings of a refractory spirit than any physical force which it will be worth the while for our Rulers to make use of for that purpose.

At present the government have only so far touched upon the land question as to *awaken* the *apprehensions* of those interested. There should, however, be no ambiguity here, as upon this hinges, in a great measure, the success of all ulterior proceedings. Great tact, temper, experience, and firmness will be here absolutely requi-

*This is very doubtful, N'Capai was a freebooter, had robbed the Emigrants, or aided others in doing so, and was a dangerous enemy in their neighborhood.

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site. Every man, who shall not forfeit his claim by determined contumacy to the government of the country, should be held entitled to a reasonable extent of land—but no exorbitant grants should be made on any account or to any individual. All future cessions of land by gift to new-comers should be sternly prohibited. Every acre of ground should be viewed as the joint-stock property of the young community, and the local government ought not to be permitted to lavish it away if it would. Being public property it should only be alienated for the purpose of supplying labor, and of carrying out the public improvements of the country. Mistakes here will be of the most fatal character;—for if the land be squandered at the outset, the settlement must necessarily struggle with poverty, but if on the other hand it be prudently husbanded, as in other young Colonies, it will afford a prolific resource upon which the community can depend with confidence as a powerful means of raising the country to future prosperity.

Fortunately, in the settlement of this question, we have for our guidance a good precedent. The case of Natal is almost precisely analagous to that of New Zealand, and the proceedings in the one case may serve as a guide for the course to be pursued in respect to the other. With this view of the case it will not be out of place to transfer to our columns a copy of the Bill passed by the Legislature of New South Wales, for the settlement of the same important subject as that to which our remarks have reference. The provisions of this Bill appear to us as so applicable to the state of affairs at Natal, that its publication may at this juncture be useful, and with this hope and that it may allay some of that anxiety which is now felt upon the subject, we direct thereto the public attention.

A.D. 1842.

This, by far the most eventful year in the annals of Natal, was ushered in by the appointment of the officer commanding the Umgazi Post, Captain, now Major Smith, of the 27th Regt. as Commandant of Natal:—

Head Quarters, Cape Town, Jan. 14, 1842.

1.—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Capt. J. C. Smith, 27th Regt., Commandant of Port Natal; and all Detachments of Troops stationed in Faku's country, the territories of Natal and its dependencies are placed under his immediate orders.

2.—Captain Smith, on being relieved at the Umgazie Camp, will march with his Detachment to Port Natal, according to such Instructions as he shall receive.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lieut.-Colonel.
Deputy-Qr.-Mr.-General.

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On the 19th of the same month His Excellency, Sir George Napier, brought to the knowledge of the Legislative Council the state of affairs at that settlement, and having read the correspondence* which passed between himself and the emigrants stated that his reply to their last communication, that of the 11th October, 1841, was the order of the 2nd of December, to march a force to Natal. The melancholy state of ignorance, in which the Governor indulged, or had been kept as to the character of the migration and the emigrants, and which cost the lives of so many brave men, will appear from the following extract of His Excellency's speech to the Council, and which tended still further to embarrass the already tangled subject:—

I have now read the whole of the communications which have passed between the Colonial Government and the Emigrant Farmers. It was clearly impossible to carry such a correspondence further with people who thus persisted in throwing off their allegiance; but I think it will be universally admitted that the Government have used every possible forbearance in the matter. All my despatches, as I have stated, have been seen by the hon. and learned member who offered his† services to be employed in any way that might lead to an amicable adjustment, and I believe he will acknowledge that they do not contain one word, from beginning to end, that does not breathe a spirit of amity, or that does not, at the same time, indicate a determination to adhere to the principles on which, on the part of the government, the whole proceedings have been conducted. *I have occasion to know that, although Mr. Pretorius, Mr. Prinsloo, and a few others, profess to act on behalf of the whole of the farmers, they have only influence among a small portion of them, and that in fact, two thirds of the farmers never saw them and know nothing of them but as a parcel of designing men who have misled a number of their countrymen and*

* This correspondence will be found at the respective dates, viz.:—
The Emigrants to His Excellency, 4th September, 1840.
His Excellency to the Emigrants, 2nd November, „
The Emigrants to His Excellency, 14th January, 1841.
His Excellency to the Emigrants, 27th „ „
The Emigrants to His Excellency, 7th April, „
His Excellency to the Emigrants, 10th June, „
do. do. 3rd September, „
The Emigrants to His Excellency, 11th October, „

† The Honorable Mr. Advocate Cloete, unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

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keep them in ignorance to promote their own views. I see continually statements in the papers, published as intelligence from Natal, which are evidently written in utter ignorance of what has actually taken place: and I have now laid the whole matter before this Council, that they, and through them, the public, should be put in possession of correct information on the subject. It will be seen that I have forborne till the last moment, and that, should anything unpleasant occur, which, however, I do not anticipate, the government cannot fairly be blamed. *I do not believe that Capt. Smith will meet with the slightest resistance from the people of Port Natal. The great majority of them are anxious to remain in possession of the privileges of British subjects,* and if they weie only aware that their landed property would be secured to them, I believe that they would long since have signified their willingness to submit. I should mention, that another circumstance which urged me to issue my Proclamation was, my having received information of an intention on the part of the Boers, to turn the natives out of their gardens and take possession of them themselves. *This information was not official,* and I merely mention the fact to account for my having stated in my Proclamation that this would not be allowed. I have only further to add, that everything is in readiness to occupy Natal, and the troops have orders to move forwards immediately.

The force dispatched on this expedition consisted of 100 men of the 27th Regiment, which left on the 25th of January with orders to proceed to the Umgazi Post, thence to march with 200 men upon Natal, leaving 50 men at that camp to act as a post of observation, and to maintain the overland communication with the Colony. Two field pieces only were sent with the detachment.

The inadequacy of such a force, *too large for negotiation and too small for conquest,* against a body of unerring marksmen, safe in position, was at once exposed by the press, and condemned by every intelligent person in the Colony. It was well observed—

If it be the intention of His Excellency by means of the troops now on their march *merely* to take military possession of Natal, we may easily foretel, without laying any claim to the character of a conjuror, that the present expedition will be of no more avail than the former one. *They will be defeated as before by the effect of sheer inanity.* There is, we repeat, a strange inconsitancy throughout these proceedings;—for if the boers be so formidable,

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as they seem to be represented, then it is evidently a hazardous experiment to oppose to them so small a force as 200 men—not to speak of 100, the amount of the force previously sent under Major Charters. But if, on the other hand, this force be sufficient to occupy that extensive territory, and to coerce those who are said to be so inimical to British rule, then the farmers as a body are not so formidable and so addicted to war as current report has proclaimed them to be. The evident conclusion from all this is, that a great deal more has been said, much unnecessary expense incurred, and infinitely more trouble taken, than the necessity or importance of the case would, under the circumstances, at all warrant. Looking at the whole subject in every point of view it seems very clear that *the government has begun at the wrong end.*

But it was not the press alone that saw and exposed the utter madness of the procedure—Mr. Advocate Cloete, *an African-born Colonist of Dutch origin,* and well acquainted with the farmers and their language, as stated by the Governor, had offered to give up for a time his professional pursuits and go to Natal, there to endeavor to bring the emigrants to a sense of their duty and danger, but his services were declined in consequence of His Excellency's infatuation. It is also said that the Governor was advised rather to procrastinate and try negotiation, or, if determined to send a military detachment, to send a *considerable force at once, and* BY SEA, and with positive orders that no taunts, threats, or provocations, should be used to induce aggressive operations.

Another objection made was, to the person of the officer commanding—for, although his courage, humanity and talent were general admitted, as they deserved to be, prudence suggested the charge should have been entrusted to a person acquainted personally with the emigrants, and with their characters and tongue,—one in whom they had confidence, and one acquainted with the mode of border warfare—and the person so pointed out was Colonel SOMERSET. In short the whole affair seems to have been planned in ignorance and executed with rashness and temerity, and no doubt owed its origin to an impression fixed upon the Governor, that the Boers were bullies and cowards, dared not come to blows, and might and ought to be held cheap as they were a contemptible rabble.

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The *grateful* Kafirs were the first to put into jeopardy the expedition proceeding to Natal. One of the chiefs endeavored to excite the people to seize the oxen and attack the British force, but Sandili, the chief of the Gaika tribes, on being asked to join the conspiracy, refused, and it was left unassailed from motives of prudence.

On the 15th of Maıch the *Mary* schooner arrived in Algoa Bay direct from Natal, bringing despatches for the Governor from the Council of the emigrants, and a rumour, which was generally credited, of the most hostile intentions on the part of the emigrants. This despatch was transmitted by the post on the 19th, instead of by *express*, as it ought to have been, although that would have been useless, as no alteration in the operations of the Governor were made on its receipt by him on the 24th.

The following is the important document referred to :—

Pietermauritzburg, Natal, Feb. 21, 1842.

To His Excellency Major General Sir George Thomas Napier, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c., of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, President and Members of the Volksraad, assembled in Council at this place, have considered it proper to inform your Excellency, that we have received a certain Proclamation, dated 2d December, 1841, issued by your Excellency, wherein it is declared that it has pleased your Excellency, in pursuance of directions received by you, to resume the military possession of this place, and that we are British subjects, and will not be acknowledged as a free people by her Majesty the Queen of England, &c. And as the friendly negotiations which we have commenced with your Excellency, and the propositions made by us, with the view of establishing an everlasting peace and alliance with the British Government, if we are only allowed to have our own Government *(a privilege not even refused to the Griquas, residing on the frontier of your Colony, though that people consist of no other than Emigrants from the Colony, as we are,)* are now made use of to bring upon us the most dreadful consequences; we have, for the purpose of correctly ascertaining the opinions of our fellow Emigrants, caused said Proclamation to be made known to them, inviting them freely to discuss the subject at public meetings, and to acquaint us with the result.

We can now inform your Excellency, that it is the unanimous

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opinion of our fellow Emigrants, and that they have requested us to declare, and we hereby declare, that we consider your said Proclamation as highly unjust towards us, and adapted, (should it be carried into effect,) to occasion the very thing,—the avoidance of which is therein set forth as the principal object, namely, warfare and bloodshed.

As this may probably be the *last* communication of this nature, which we shall have an opportunity of making to your Excellency, we further consider it necessary, to comment more extensively on the subject. We wish, however, it may be well understood, that we do not intend to give offence, or reproach, or to give reason for any warlike acts, as it is our hearty wish and desire to live in peace with all men, and that nothing shall induce us to take up arms to shed human blood, *except the conviction that we cannot avoid it*, or when the protection of our property,—(which we have so dearly obtained,)—and of our very existence, shall require it, or also when we find that might, and not right, is exercised towards us. We know that there is a God, who is the Ruler of Heaven and Earth, and who has the power, and is willing, to protect the injured, though weaker, against oppressors. In Him we put our trust; and the justice of our case; and should it be His will, that a total destruction be brought down upon us, our wives and children, and every thing we have or possess, we will with due submission acknowledge to have deserved it from Him, but not from men. We are aware of the power of Great Britain, and it is not our object to defy that power; but at the same time we cannot allow that might instead of right shall triumph, without having employed all our means to oppose it. We do not accuse the British Government of being thus disposed, but experience has taught us, that erroneous and unfounded representations, as is now again apparent, respecting us, originating in a remote country, have too often been the cause of the adoption of measures, which were pressing and unjust. We also most positively deny, that any deep-rooted hatred prevails amongst us against the English nation. Every man on the face of the Earth, naturally feels more affection for his own people than for others, but as christians we are taught to love all men; and although we, South African Farmers, have often been looked upon by Englishmen with haughtiness and contempt, yet let the many Englishmen, (amongst whom we include the Scotch with whom we were personally acquainted in our native country, and amongst whom we had even Ministers of the Gospel, towards whom we have always borne the greatest respect,)—let the officers and soldiers, with whom we have served in arms, testify,—let our former rulers, judges and local authorities,—and let even the respectable Englishmen who now reside amongst us in safety testify, whether there exists such hatred in our hearts against the English.

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We, however, will not deny that the resolutions which were taken and the laws which were issued from time to time by the English Goverument, have been the only reasons why we have abandoned our native country and relatives, and thrown ourselves as it were upon the waves of the wilderness, to be free from the control of that Government; to cite some instances:—

Who was it that forced upon us the increasing evil consequences of slavery? Who guaranteed to us the right of property therein? Was it not the same Government who afterwards again took it from us; and this in a manner that we ourselves had not the least voice as to the best and fittest manner of doing it? Who was it that promised us full compensation for our slaves? Was it not the same Government who put us off with one-third of the real value of our property, and even then left us at the mercy of covetous and gain-seeking merchants, who have been enriched at our expense? Who was it that employed us, without any remuneration, and at our own expense, for the protection of the frontier of the Colony against the hostile, and warlike, and plundering Kafir? Was it not the same Government which afterwards denied us all claim to compensation, erroneously alleging that we had justly brought upon us the wrath of the Kafir, on account of our depredations? Who deprived us of the best Governor we ever had, merely because he, as a man of conscience, defended the Cape Colonists, and sought their real safety and protection by punishing their destructive enemy? Who afterwards sent us political speculators, bound by hands and feet, whose frontier systems exposed us to the continual robberies and threats of the Kafir with impunity? and this accompanied with a heavy expense on the country, which was to come from the pocket of the already ruined farmer? Was it not that same Government which left the country open to wandering vagabonds, who led a wild and an idle life, and lived upon the flocks and other properties of the already oppressed farmer?—whereby the farmer, deprived of laborers, or even if he had them, from all necessary authority, (and under which the Colonists still suffer,) became so discouraged, that, finding his incessant remonstrances and petitions unanswered or neglected, the darkest prospects presented themselves to him?

All these evils we describe to this single cause, namely; to the absence of a Representative Government, which has been refused us by the Executive Government of that very people, who consider that very privilege as one of their most sacred civil rights, and for which every true Englishmen will offer his life. And what have we done under all these sufferings? Have we taken recourse to arms, claiming our rights, as has lately been the case in the Canadas? No, we gave up our coat to him who had taken our cloak; we even sold off our farms at low prices. We openly

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notified to government that we were going to leave our country and its jurisdiction: we were allowed to do so, at least we were not forbidden. We were even surprised when we became acquainted with a most fair and just declaration, made by the Lieutenant-Governor, that it was an indubitable right that a man, not satisfied with the administration of a government, had the liberty to abandon it.

Immediately after our departure, we declared our independence; we established our own Government; waged wars which unexpectedly came upon us, and made peace; we took possession of uninhabited tracts of land, which we acquired by friendly negotiations with the heathen tribes, and such which we had to purchase with our lives and blood. In the mean time, *what did the Colonial Government do under all these circumstances? did it notify to us, that we could not release ourselves from our obligation as subjects, wherever we might be?* or did it offer us any assistance, when we were in danger, and expected every moment to be destroyed by the barbarians and blood-thirsty heathens, and when already more than six hundred of us had been most treacherously and innocently murdered? Or did it continue to look with indifference on the misery of its pretended subjects, as long as total ruin threatened them? But what is still more, where not their murderers assisted, as soon as they (the Emigrants) appeared to have a chance of triumphing, by forbidding all exportation of arms and ammunition to them? Nay, even by threatening us with the military possession, and confiscating our own arms and ammunition, and this under the pretence of preventing further bloodshed for humanity's sake, at the time when there was no fear for the shedding of Christian blood, but when revenge was to be taken on those whose hands were still stained therewith! also by opposing the trade, whereby many of the Emigrants have died during the visitation of the contagious disease, the measles, for want of the necessary means of food, requisite and indispensable in such a time! Has not the same government treated us as *foreigners, even with regard to our trade by sea?* How then is it possible that, with all such grounds on our side, your Excellency can expect that we can look upon ourselves as transgressors or rebels against our lawful government? We declare that we cannot see how the British government, under these circumstances, can, with the least semblance of justice and equity, have a claim upon us as subjects, unless it be solely from other political motives or jealousy; or to find some reason against us, to bring the Emigrants, who have been despised and left to their fate, with some appearance of justice once more under the yoke. We strongly doubt, if we had gone to the very heart of Africa, or to Delagoa, whether we should have also been interfered with there. We, however, still cherish the hope, that when the present government of

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Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the British nation, shall have become *well* and *truly* acquainted with all the circumstances of our case, other means will be found to satisfy both parties, than by the sword and blood; and we therefore pray your Excellency to take the case into your further consideration, and *to take no measures whereby we shall be driven to steps, which, though painful, and against our will, will become unavoidable for the protection of our lives and security, and bring upon your Excellency a responsibility which will, sooner or later, be difficult to bear.*

As regards the cause assigned in your Proclamation, why this military occupation will have to take place, namely, our resolution with regard to the Kafirs, taken here on the 2d August 1841, we merely wish to observe that as usual your Excellency's informer is either ignorant of the real circumstance of the case,—or has premeditately concealed it from you. We are able to convince every true philanthropist that our intention with regard to the Kafirs, as well the old residents as those who have lately come here, in making arrangements for their removal, as well by the already mentioned resolution, as by another since taken on the same subject, is *founded on true philanthrophy*; in as far as we have thereby endeavored to avoid or to prevent the probability of hostility and bloodshed which must otherwise inevitably be the consequence, if we allowed the Zoolas and other nations to leave their old residences, and by thousands take up their abode amongst us, as is the case at present. For, having first been secured by us against their enemies, and afterwards having become strong, they would have the finest opportunity in the world, to extirpate us, solely to become possessed of our cattle; or, should their attempt be discovered, they would compel us immediately to attack them by arms and to drive them off. Our measures are therefore calculated to provide in time against the possibility of such occurrences as much as possible, and not to allow the evil to increase too much or to become irreparable and then only to set to work. We would go to too great a length, were we to state all we have to say on this point,—we shall, therefore, proceed to show, that even if Fako had any claim on the tract of land mentioned in your Excellency's Proclamation, he alone would have to be blamed if we had occupied that land. In the first place, we have proofs that he had already in the year 1834 declared not to have any claim on that land, and that, with the exception of some spy-kraals, he had never inhabited it, as far as we can find out. We have also caused the publication of the Contract entered into between the late Mr. Retief with Dingaan, as well as our Proclamation wherein our boundary line is fixed to the Umzimvobo. Fako himself has also entered into a friendly understanding with us, and we obtained from and gave him assurance of peace, and even protection, so that there was nothing to prevent him

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from protesting, if we disposed of any part of his territory. But he has moreover voluntarily acknowledged to our deputies, that the country lawfully belonged to Chaka, and afterwards to Dingaan, as far as the Umzimvobo; and that he acknowledged our claim thereon as founded on justice, both by the contract before-mentioned and our victory over the nation. He went further and said that Chaka and Dingaan had taken the country, even to the other side of the Umzimvobo, and that he considered himself and his people to be there by our sufferance. May we, therefore, not ask where is there a colony or province, at present in the possession of Great Britain, or any other power, on which a claim can be made with greater right? We are convinced of the contrary; but if Fako can prove that neither Chaka nor Dingaan ever had any claim to the country in question, and that the waste and uninhabited tract of land, has always been in his possession: who convinces us of having insisted, notwithstanding, on the occupation thereof, and that, therefore, there is a just reason for the threatened military occupation of our harbour and territory?

We also beg to observe that we cannot understand with any possibility, the right of subjects by birth, as otherwise set forth by Your Excellency in your Proclamation, in as far as regards us.

But putting aside this question, we are bound to declare our conviction that we shall not be safe in this country, or even able to subsist, when we again submit to the jurisdiction of a Colonial government as before. The country of which Your Excellency already dispose, threatening us to take it from us and our children, would then be of no value to us. *What prospects have we of enjoying better protection than that which the border inhabitants of the Colony enjoy, and on account of which we have been compelled to fly from that country?* What prospects have we even to enjoy that protection? Your Excellency's proceedings, with regard to us, give us every reason to suspect that your anxiety and care only exists for the uncivilized people, and that it will cause no great alarm, when we, with our wives, children, and servants be butchered by them as sheep. Nay, that the philanthropists of the day will invent false accusations enough, to make the world believe that we have amply deserved it, and that it is our own fault. Fate seems, therefore, to drive us to one of the two choices, namely, to bend ourselves like oxen, to willingly bear the burden imposed upon us, until finding it too burthensome, we commence, as before, a new emigration, when we shall have to leave behind us all that we possess in the world; or, in the defence of our rights, of our possessions, nay, even of our lives, to take to arms, and fight against our oppressors, and with our fall or failure to end our troubles on earth. We leave it to Your Excellency's own judgment, and to the judg-

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ment of every well-thinking Englishman, which of the two is more eligible. Let it no longer be thought, that we are endeavoring to mislead, or that we ourselves are misled. Experience has given us all, more or less, dear lessons, and whatever may be our political disputes, with respect to our civil administration, your Excellency will find that there is but little difference on that one point. Should we, after much bloodshed and expense be suppressed, the fire will merely have been extinguished, to rage with more force on the day of vengeance. It is in your Excellency's power to prevent these evils, and if it be really your Excellency's intention to prevent further bloodshed, your Excellency will easily find reason enough not to send your military expedition *for the present;* and to adopt *other measures, which will have a more humane and blessed effect.*

It has caused us much regret, constantly to hear, since the commencement of our departure, how we have unjustly been represented to the world as a rude people, who, tired of civilized laws and church discipline, sought to lead a libidinous life,—every one as he might think proper.

We have already more than once confounded our accusers. Although we are inexperienced farmers, who were never allowed to take any part in the public affairs of their native country, we have, however, succeeded in bringing our form of Government on a footing, that we begin to gain public confidence from day to day; religion even, is already going on on a regular footing, and cultivation of the soil is daily increasing; we already have erected an extensive chapel for the exercise of public worship, and the instruction of the youth is on a good footing.

The hostile *Zoolas* around us, have been checked in their incessant warlike acts, so that, fearing us, they seldom take up arms. There are already two Missionaries amongst them and under our protection, and we have the best prospects that the civilization of that people will be sooner promoted than that of the Kafirs on the frontiers of the Colony. All this has been done, now that we begin to get out of our great troubles Your Excellency may, therefore, easily conceive that it will be hard for us to see all our hopes and expectations at once frustrated. A single erroneous or impolitical experiment would create irreparable injuries to us. Already are certain busy agents here instigating the Kafir tribes against us, either to their own or our misfortune, and creating a belief amongst them that we are their oppressors, but the English their protectors; and that, if they are the friends of the English, they will have our cattle for their reward. Probably your Excellency has not granted permission for this; yet it is practised. Will the civilised world ever blame us, when, under such circumstances and under such inhuman persecution, we venture the utmost measures for the sake

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of our lives? And when we must submit to superior power, and seek for safety further into the country, where we shall be more concentrated, and can the better fight against our enemies, shall we be blamod when we seek to recover our losses, both which we suffered in the Colony and since our departure, and for our lands, houses, and other possessions, which we shall have been compelled to leave behind as a prey to devastation of our old debtors—the Kafirs, nay even further? We pray the Almighty to prevent it, and that it may please Him to grant us a better deliverance.

Finally, we must, as well for ourselves as at the urgent request of our fellow emigrants, most strongly protest, against the occupation of any part of this land, as threatened in your Excellency's Proclamation of the 2d December aforesaid, and declare, that for the future we shall be able to keep ourselves free from any blame for the injurious consequences of such a step, before God, our own consciences and the world.

We have the honor to call ourselves with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient Servants,

(Signed) JOACHIM PRINSLO, President,

And all the Members of Council.

(Signed) J. J. BURGER, Secretary.

This statement of grievances (as old as a thrice-told-tale) and the bold defiance it breathed, must have reached government on the 24th of March, *seven days before the expedition left the post at the Umzimvooboo River, and forty-one before it reached Natal.* It might reasonably have been expected the receipt of such a document would have induced it to pause, to arrest the march of the unfortunate men thus devoted to destruction, or to reinforce their numbers, for which there was abundance of time. No such thing—in the face of this fierce manifesto, amounting in fact to a declaration of war, the Government rashly persisted in allowing its 200 men to march on to confront the whole power of the emigrants, all practised shots, intimately acquainted with the country and inured to hardship. However excusable, therefore, the Governor may have been in his previous management of the Natal affair, and however culpable the home government for its negligence and delay, in this case great and fearful responsibility was incurred by His Excellency.

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Unfortunately, to add to the combustible matter accumulated at Natal, there arrived most inopportunely, in that port, on the 24th of March (1843), an armed Dutch schooner, under the Natal pennant, named the *Brazilia*, commanded by one Captain Reus, said to have been expressly built for the purpose, and carrying despatches direct from Amsterdam to the Volksraad or Council of the Boers, but really for the purposes of trade, and fitted out by a private firm of that place. The supercargo, a person of the name of Smellekamp, along with the Commander Reus, there is little reason to doubt, for the purpose of advancing their mercantile interests, entered into mischievous intrigues with the farmers, for whom they had brought an incendiary pamphlet, expressly published at Amsterdam, and they soon made the emigrants believe, whose ignorance of European politics rendered them easy dupes, that their cause would assuredly be maintained both by Holland and France, and that they would gladly lay before the Court of the Hague, their offer of adhesion to the Crown of the Netherlands. These representations and pledges were of course rapturously received by the misguided and thus excited farmers, and they accordingly transmitted despatches, tendering their allegiance to Holland, and were confirmed in their previous intention never again to come under the British power, but they now moreover determined to resist that power in case of necessity by *force*.* Smellekamp, having sold

* A representation having been made to the home government of these circumstances, the Queen's Minister at the Hague had an interview in the month of Sep., 1842, with Baron Kattendyk, who stated that "the conduct of Captain Reus is strongly disapproved on the part of the Netherland Government, and it would be ready to call him and those who employed him to a severe account,"—and a still stronger disavowel was subsequently elicited, as will appear by the following notice published in the Colony :—

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

With reference to the advertisement of the 21s December last, making public the disavowel by the Dutch government of the proceedings of the master and the supercargo of the *Brazilia*, at Port Natal, His Excellency the Governor now desires it to be notified that, by a Despatch recently received from the Secretary of State, covering the copy of a letter from Baron KATTENDYK to Sir EDWARD DESBROWE, under date the 4th November, 1842, His Excellency learns that the *disloyal* communications and overtures made to the said government by the emigrant farmers in the month of April last, *have been*

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his investment, proceeded overland to Graaff-Reinet, where his presence nearly excited dangerous consequences to the peace of the Colony itself, and he was arrested on his road to Cape Town, where, after an examination by the Attorney General, he was liberated, having declared he only visited Natal in search of a market, and had no authority whatever to interfere on behalf of the Emigrants from the Dutch government.

An account of the march of the expedition to Natal—its extreme difficulties and danger—its exhausted state on its arrival there on the 4th of May, are graphically described in the following letter of an eye-witness and fellow sufferer, one of the troops, who thus describes the journey :—

12th May, 1842.

* * * * *

I received your epistle on the south bank of the Umsacoola River. I was after travelling 18 miles, and the whole day raining on us, and then had to mount guard the same night. I promised to send you all the particulars relating to our march, but I am sorry to state that opportunity will not allow me at present, in consequence of our sad situation.

* * * * *

Our march was *long* and *fatiguing*, and we had a great many delays at rivers, and *bad weather* was the cause of detaining us likewise. I will just mention a few particulars on the occasion, and draw to a close unto Natal, as you will be somewhat surprised to hear how we came on since we came here. On the 1st of April* we left the Umzimvooboo River, after taking leave of Faku's kingdom, and all its inhabitants, singing the song "We fight to conquer," chorused by the men and officers as we marched along. We were three days marching through Faku's territory. * * * The same night Mrs. Giligan was delivered of a son, and the next day the Commissariat Issuer's wife was delivered of a beautiful

repelled with all the indignation which was to be expected from a power in close alliance and amity with Her Britannic Majesty, and that the King of Holland and his ministers have taken every possible step to mark their entire disapproval of the unjustifiable use made of their name by the two individuals above mentioned, and to express their satisfaction at the promptitude with which the insurrectionary movement at Port Natal was put down,

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 21st March, 1842,
By His Excellency's Command,
(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Acting Secretary to Government.

*The first of April—a propitious day !

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daughter. On the morning of the 9th we arrived on the sea-coast, where we took breakfast, and every man had a good swim in the salt water, and had great eating of oysters and many other varieties of shell fish. On leaving this place Fisher was nearly killed in crossing a river; he was jumping up on the gun to pass over dry and save himself the trouble of stripping, but he fell under the gun wheel and it went over his left shoulder, and only for one of the artillery being so expert in drawing him from under the wheels, it would have gone over his head and killed him on the spot; the doctor had great work to bring him to, and he complained for three or four days after of having a great pain in his chest and breast, but now he is quite recovered. You must understand that the three buglers were divided every day into three divisions, one with the artillery, and one with the division, and one with the rear guard. Our march chiefly was along the S.E. coast the whole way, until within a few days of Natal. We came across many pieces of wrecks belonging to unfortunate vessels, and skeletons of whales, and many curious shells, and many other things were picked up by the men and officers as we went along. The men caught three brown bucks and gave them to the officers; we saw a great many sea cows, and came across the spoor of lions and elephants in the woody parts along the coast. *We suffered much from marching in the sand, it got into our boots and cut our feet to pieces, and the sun reflecting the sand burned our faces. In like manner the men had many fatigues in repairing the roads every four or five miles they went along.* Mr. Archbell, the Wesleyan Missionary, and family, were in company with us the whole way. We never saw a sail the whole time on the water, until the 29th morning we beheld a small brig sailing from Natal harbour. We marched from the sea-coast the same morning, and continued on the inland the whole day, until we arrived at the east banks of the Umkomess River.

I must draw to a close with the remainder of the march, in consequence of having other bread to bake at present. As I mentioned before, and at the same time informing you that *we crossed* 122 *rivers, and the most of them we had to swim over;* some of them extending across 6 and 700 yards in breadth; they are the largest and greatest rivers ever I saw in my life. We stopped two days and part of the third at the Umkomass river, during our stay here we had muster parade and articles of war. The night before James Devitt, of No. 2 company, died, and was buried next evening with the usual martial ceremonies. Poor fellow! *his death was occasioned from the fatigues of the march, and it is a wonderful mercy of Providence, that a great many more did not share the same fate.* The next day we departed from this river, and when the guns went over, they loaded with grape, and every company according

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as they reached the other side all loaded with ball, and every soldier on the expedition, for the captain did not know the moment the enemy might approach him, and due precaution was taken every night in pitching the camp; the guns and infantry were ordered to be kept loaded until further orders. The next day's march we came within 25 miles of Natal, and that evening there came 4 Englishmen out to meet us, all armed with swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns

You may depend it alarmed us very much to see them so well armed, but you would not believe how much they were overjoyed to see us. They stated to the captain that they were obliged to fly for refuge; the boers threatened to hang them, and a good many more that stopped in the town. The next day's march we met the whole of the Englishmen coming out to meet us, all armed in the same manner as the first two. When they came up to us they all shouted unanimously together, "Welcome, welcome boys, you are the brightest sight we saw this many a day; our lives are in danger this month past—since they heard of the troops coming up, and we were all obliged to make our escape from the band of ruffians, who said they would hang us all if we would not go in arms against the troops that were coming up, but we never would consent, and we had to fly, leaving our property and houses behind us to get some protection from you, and thanks be to the Almighty you are at hand." Now they told us many yarns about the Dutch barbarians, the ill treatment they gave them, and how they made them pay heavy revenue and duties upon all kind of goods they purchased out of different vessels. But to draw to Natal—the last day's march being the 4th May, as we drew within 12 miles of the town, it was surely handsome to see all the pretty cottages and handsome villages belonging to the peaceable Dutch farmers. The captain received word outside of the town about the enemy abandoning the town and port. We arrived in Natal about 4 o'clock in the evening, and pitched our camp on a projecting hill, about the distance of 6 miles from the town and harbor, for the captain thought the enemy might give him a visit that night, and all preparation was accordingly made in placing the guns and wagons all round the camp. The English Agent paid us a visit before we were long arrived; his name is Mr. Dunn. He has a magnificent house and premises, and a splendid garden here on this hill. *He wondered very much to see such a small force going to face the enemy as we were, and he asked the captain if there was not a force coming by sea, but the captain told him there was not, and that he was not the least afraid to meet as many more. The Agent smiled to think he would face* 1,500 *men armed in the manner they were, with swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns—*

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the best armed men in the colony. They purchased all these arms since they came up here out of different shipping that came into the barbour, The evening we came in here we saw the haughty Dutch banner was displayed on the fort at the barbor as large as life. But the next morning the captain and the engineer officer, with all the Cape corps, and a few of the artillery, went down to the port, and *hauled down the rebellious flag, and hoisted the British Union of old England, and spiked their gun alongside of it—a six-pounder.* In the mean time the captain and engineer officer planned out a place for our camp, alongside of the town, but in an open plain. The captain and the remainder of them arrived at the camp about 4 o'clock in the evening.

During our arrival here for those two days the enemy made no appearance about the town, but their chiefs sent in a great many letters to our captain, but when he found out that they were from the impetuous chief he would not read them, and desired no person to attempt to take any letters from any of his followers, for he said he wanted to see him himself, and not his letters. All this time the boers were encamped about 20 miles from the town, at a place called Long Kloof. The next day we marched to our camp, where we were destined to remain with fixed bayonets, and the officers with their swords drawn, and in full uniform. We passed through a small village belonging to the Dutch, called Kongela, but there seemed to be very few inhabitants in it, as they were all out in the country. We marched through the town and came to our camp-ground at 11 o'clock; but such a place for *bad water* I never saw in my life; *it is as black as ink and full of different insects, and stinks into the bargain. I am very much afraid it will make away with the whole of us before long.* But for Natal I think it is one of the handsomest places ever I saw in my life.

Ever since our arrival in Natal the whole of the men are obliged to wear their accoutrements the whole night and keep their arms alongside of them, lying on top of their blankets and great coats ready at a moment's warning to turn ont, and the artillery in like manner, lying alongside their guns. *The duty is very hard here: the men have only two nights in bed.* We give 36 men and two officers, and a bugler every night for outline picket, and an advance picket of the Cape Corps. No person of our camp is permitted to go to town ever since we came here; we are *locked up the same as if we were in a French prison.* A great number of the Kafirs came here to our camp, and showed us by their backs the manner the Dutch so unmercifully flogged them; they are almost afraid to speak to a white man. On the night of the 8th we were alarmed to hear wagons going the whole night through the woods northward of our camp towards the Dutch village. But news soon came to the captain next morning of all the boers being assembled in town,

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and this day being Sunday, the captain made all preparations for action that night. The captain sent word to the Dutch chief nex morning to come himself in person and he would let him know the general's mission, but he refused coming. But the captain was determined to fetch him, accordingly he ordered out all the Cape Corps, one gun with six rockets and a hundred infantry. I and Blake were the two buglers, with them we marched away from the camp at 10 o'clock, leaving all in the camp under arms during our absence, and to be ready the first gun they heard fired to proceed and reinforce us. We proceeded towards the village, and during our march we saw multitudes of armed parties galloping through the woods towards the village, and drawing near the village we could see the boers all in the utmost confusion, running here and there, and we could hear their women and children roaring and crying, and the men exclaiming violently, they were sure we were going to have at them at once. When we drew nigh to the village we saw the valiant chief coming out and two more to meet us. When the captain saw him coming he halted us, and made us order arms and stand at ease. When he came up to the captain he made a low bow and took off his hat. We had a fine view of him for the first time, during the time he was speaking to the captain. He is about six feet high and has a belly on him like the bass drum. The captain stated all the General's orders to him, but he seemed to decline them, and told the captain he did not want to meddle with the troops, but he nor his men never were to come under the English laws and be subjects of England, and said he would trade to the harbor; but the captain told him this would not do, he must come to a resolution at once, and he gave him fifteen days to think about it. He parted with the captain here and we marched home to our camp. They were peaceable now for two days, but the 3d morning they were seen brigading about the town in large parties as before, but the captain was rather vigilant for them, and ordered out a forlorn hope party, the same number as before, and came down to the town, and sent word to the chief, if he did not soon disperse his men he would burn, murder, and destroy all their property, and set fire to the village; they all dispersed in about an hour's time, and the troops marched home again. Nothing extra has happened since, only they are all in camp at the village within a gun shot of our camp, with all their wagons round the camp, the same as ourselves, but we expect some bloodshed at the end of the fifteen days the captain gave them to come to a treaty to become subjects of England. I forgot to mention that the boers bought up all the provisions in the town before we came up—flour and meal. Their foolish idea led them to think they could starve us by so doing.

To draw to a close with my small narrative, I wish to mention

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that the boers *were not far astray of us being starved, for our provisions are out these four days past, and we are living on one handful of rice*, but thanks be to God, a small brig arrived in harbour this day with plenty of provisions, viz. biscuit, salt beef, and pork, and plenty of rum. She brought two long 18-pounders with her for to put upon our battery; there came also nine settlers in her (Englishmen) to stop here from Cape Town, and a canteen man for the troops, but the captain would not allow him to sell any liquor to the troops until all is settled; as the town at present is under martial law, all the Englishmen are doing their duty the same as our men—mounting guard over their property day and night, and relieving their sentries correctly, and having a trumpet to sound any time they require him; they are all mounted men; the boers are all mounted men and have beautiful horses.

I conclude now, and I hope you will excuse my hurried epistle, as my time is short, and I am so much fatigued, for I can assure you that I and many men of our expedition have not closed our eyes to sleep since we came here, and this is the 9th day since our arrival, and I am just the same as usual.

JOSEPH BROWN, Bugler 27th Regt.

Things remained in this state until fourteen out of the fifteen days given to the Boers for consideration had elapsed, when the officer commanding the expedition determined to strike, what he appears to have considered would have been, a decisive blow, the disastrous result of which will be seen by his own statement of the "*untoward*" affair. The following account of the previous proceedings will serve to connect the narrative:—

"On the 4th instant the troops arrived here after a long, tedious, and arduous journey. *A month was occupied in marching from the Umzimvoobo.* They entered the Natal country without the least opposition.

"Capt. Smith" (the commander of the expedition) "took up a temporary position on the mound, upon which stands the residence of Mr. Dunn, but after due inspection of the ground around, he removed to the flat immediately in front of the town, and distant from it about a mile. The day after this movement a few farmers, about twenty in number, under the command of Pretorius, came to the old Dutch encampment, or Leger, on the Congella, about three miles distant from the English camp, and took up their quarters there. During the night the number was somewhat increased, and it continued to increase by dribblets until the 12th, when their number might amount to 150 or 200 men. This I believe is the

utmost that he had to that date been able by any means to persuade to join him.

" The day after Pretorius' arrival at the Congella, (Leger) Capt. Smith, at the head of about 100 men, and a six-pounder, marched down upon them with the design of dispersing them, and which seemed the more desirable in this embryo state of their proceedings, as their numbers were gradually augmenting, and as it had been reported that two cannon had been sent down from Pietermauritzberg.

" On the sudden appearance of the troops the boers were thrown into great commotion, and each ran to his gun and horse, though, had they intended to maintain their position, the latter would have been useless, as they could not have used them against an enemy on the ground. In a moment, however, two men were dispatched to meet Captain Smith, and to desire him to stand back. The reply to this was a message that he would talk with their leader in his camp. Finding that he continued his march, and was so determined, C. Landman, and de Jagers, both men of the best spirit, and desirous to adopt pacific measures, gallopped forward, and on meeting Capt. Smith, entreated him to suspend his march, as *there were women and children in the camp*. To the entreaty of these men Capt. Smith at once listened, but demanded an interview with Pretorious, who, after making many objections, was at length induced to come to a parley, which he evidently would, if possible, have avoided. On meeting Capt. Smith his eye glanced at the carbines of his escort, and observing the hammer at half-cock, he requested that it might be let down upon the nipple, or otherwise they might shoot him. Capt. Smith, in the course of the conference, gave him some very plain advice, and upon understanding that it was his intention to disperse his followers, he marched back the troops to the camp.

" The following day, instead of dispersing, the Dutch camp received some reinforcement, and on the 11th, Pretorius, at the head of about 100 armed men, came towards the camp, on the plea, as he said, of visiting his friend, Jan Meyers. This movement brought out the English forces. They were drawn up in line directly before them, and the guns at the camp pointed accordingly. Observing this, Pretorius sent forward two men to explain to Capt. Smith that his intentions were not hostile. Capt. S. would scarce hear them, but, enraged at the evident duplicity of Pretorious, and his breach of faith, told them that he thought he had said enough to him on the former occasion, but if he had not he would tell him something more, in language too intelligible to be misunderstood. He concluded by ordering them immediately to disperse, telling the messengers that if any more of their number were sent to him he would make them prisoners, and treat them according to martial

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law. They made no reply to this, asked for no further explanation, but at once retired.

* * * * *

The day before the arrival of the Troops Mr. Boshoff left for the colony, in company with the supercargo of the Dutch vessel, which recently put in here, and which visit has done incalculable mischief. The master, Capt. Reus, gave the boers to understand that the Dutch government would espouse their cause, and advised them not to offer actual resistance to the English, but to avoid collision, and, by an evasive line of policy which should determine nothing, keep them in play till his return.

In accordance with this advice they drew up a protest against the occupation of the country by the English, but which Captain Smith refused to receive. In this document they declare allegiance to what they term the Dutch government, and the King of Belgium!

This display of turbulence on the part of the Boers is the result of two causes. The first is the evil interference of the Dutch Skipper, Reus, by whose advice they are obstinately guided—and secondly *by the weakness of the military force sent from the colony*.

* * * * *

"My last gave you an account of our affairs to the 17th (May), and little did I then think I should have had to inform you so soon of actual collision between the farmers and the troops, that is between the latter, and that portion of the farmers who are known to be men of desperate fortunes, and who are capable of anything. They had assembled in a force of about 300 men, and this, had Capt. Smith not have been bound down to suffer anything rather than proceed to extremities, he might easily have crushed in its rise or embryo form; for it was 15 days in collecting; but being tied down by his instructions, he was obliged to submit to observe an enemy raising a force before his eyes, and encamping within shot of the 18-pounders in his camp.

This forbearance was construed by the boers into fear, and this idea, added to the evil influence of the Dutch Captain, Reus, brought matters to a most painful issue. On Monday, the 23d, the first aggressive act was committed by the boers. They commenced by seizing about sixty oxen and then moved down upon the camp. On this Capt: Smith opened a fire upon them with one 18-pounder, which he had just got mounted, and had not been on its carriage more than three hours.

CAPTAIN SMITH'S DESPATCH.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct the pub-

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lication of the following Despatch from the Officer commanding Her Majesty's Troops at Port Natal, for public information.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 15th June, 1842.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,
(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Port Natal, May 25, 1842.

SIR,—It is with feelings of deep regret, I have the honor to communicate to you the disastrous result of an attack made by the force under my command on the Emigrant Farmers, congregated at the Congella Camp at this place.

In my last Despatch I detailed the various steps taken by the Farmers to annoy the troops, and my determination to abstain, if possible, from hostilities, if it could be done without detriment to the honor of the service, in the vain hope of conciliating these misguided people, and smoothing the way to a quiet settlement of their long-disturbed position as regards the Government of the Cape. But the receipt of an insolent letter, demanding that the force I commanded should instantly quit Natal, followed up by the removal, by armed men, of a quantity of Cattle belonging to the Troops, rendered it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken in order to prevent a repetition of such outrages.

I therefore determined, after mature consideration, to march a force and attack their Camp at the Congella, (a place about 3 miles from our position, where they have been for some time collecting,) and set apart the *night* of the 23d instant to effect that object. As the road leading to the Congella from the post the troops now occupy, lies for the most part through thick bush, I thought it best to cross the sands at low water, as by this means I could avoid annoyance from the Farmers until within a short distance of their station. Fitting a howitzer, therefore, into a boat, under the superintendance of Lieut. Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, and leaving it under charge of a sergeant of the same corps, I gave him directions to drop down the Channel to within 500 yards of Congella, and await the troops, in order that they might form under cover of its fire, aided by that of two six-pounders, which accompanied the force I took with me. This consisted of 1 Subaltern, and 17 Privates Royal Artillery; 1 Subaltern, 1 Serjeant, and 7 Privates Royal Sappers; 2 Captains, 2 Subalterns, 5 Serjeants, and 100 Rank and File, 27th Regt.; and 2 Mounted Orderlies of the Cape Rifles.

Having previously sent a piquet out to feel the skirts of the wood in front of our position, in order to prevent our movements being discovered, I put the whole party in motion at 11 p.m. (it being a bright moonlight) and arrived without molestation within nearly 800 yards of the place I proposed to attack. To my great mortifi-

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cation I found that the boat had not dropped down the channel according to my instructions; but, as I considered it imprudent to await the chance of her arrival, I was forced to make the attack without the valuable assistance a discharge of shells and shot from the howitzer would have afforded me. Giving the order to advance, therefore, the Troops had just moved to where the termination of a range of mangrove bush opened to a level space in front of the Congella, when a heavy and well directed fire from the bush was poured on them; upon which they immediately formed, and commenced a fire in return, while the two six-pounders were loading. Unfortunately, one of the draught oxen being shot caused some interruption; but this being soon got over, a destructive fire from the guns silenced for a while our opponents; but several more of the oxen becoming wounded, and escaping out of their trecktouws, rushed among the troops, upsetting the limbers, which caused much delay in re-loading, and some confusion in the Ranks. This circumstance, added to the partial and at length total silence of the guns, being taken advantage of by the Boers, they again opened a heavy fire (their long pieces carrying much farther than an ordinary musket,) a severe loss resulting to the Troops in consequence. Finding, therefore, I was not likely to accomplish the purpose for which I had put the detachment in motion, and that the men were falling fast, I thought it expedient to retire, effecting this object after some delay, the partial rising of the tide rendering the road difficult. The Troops, however, reached the camp about two o'clock in tolerable order, leaving behind them, I regret to say, the guns, which the death of the oxen rendered it impossible to remove.

Thinking it probable this partial success of the farmers might induce them to make an immediate attack on the Camp, I made such preparations as I thought necessary, and found my suspicions realized shortly afterwards, a large body of them opening a heavy fire on three sides of it. This was met by a spirited resistance on our part, but they did not finally retire until about an hour before day-break.

Such, I regret to inform you, has been the result of this attack, and the consequent loss has been severe, the total in both skirmishes being as detailed in the Return enclosed. One great cause of failure I attribute to the mismanagement of the boat, in which I had placed the howitzer, with the shells of which I had hoped the farmers might have been thrown into confusion, but she dropped down too late to be of any use, and even then took up a position too distant for her fire to produce much effect.

Among the many matters connected with the subject of this report, and awakening the deepest regret, is the death of Lieutenant Wyatt, of the Royal Artillery, who, for the two previous days,

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had exerted himself much in making the necessary arrangements. He was killed early in the action. Of the zealous services of Capt. Lonsdale and Lieut. Tunnard, of the 27th Regt., I was also deprived, both these officers being severely wounded. In fact, under the trying circumstances in which the detachment was placed, I have only to regret, that, with such willingness to perform the duty assigned them, the result should have been so unfortunate.

The loss on the part of the Boers it is difficult to estimate, but I am told it has been severe. The whole of this day they have made no movement, but I have to give them the credit of treating such of the wounded as fell into their hands with great humanity. These, with the bodies of those who fell, they sent to the Camp, in the course of this afternoon, and to-morrow the sad duty of interring our departed comrades will take place.

What steps the Farmers may subsequently take, I cannot at this moment surmise with any degree of certainty, though I think it probable they will again demand that I should quit the Territory they call their own within a specific time. I shall of course do what I can to maintain myself in my present position; but, considering the number of the disaffected, and the means they possess of molesting the troops, I beg to urge the necessity of a speedy reinforcement, as I scarcely consider the troops at present stationed here sufficient for the performance of the duty to which they have been assigned.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. C. SMITH,
Captain 27th Regt., Commanding.

His Honor Col. HARE, C.B. and K.H.,
Lieut. Governor, &c. &c.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, (men and horses) belonging to the Detachment under command of Capt. J. C. SMITH, 27th Regiment, on the night of the 23d and morning of the 24th May, 1842.

Port Natal, 25th May, 1842.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.—*Killed*,—1 Subaltern, 3 Rank and File.
Wounded,—2 Rank and File.

ROYAL SAPPERS & MINERS.—*Wounded*,—2 Rank and File.

27TH REGIMENT.—*Killed*,—12 Rank and File; 1 bât horse (Lt. Molesworth's)
Wounded,—1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 23 Rank and File; 1 riding horse (Lt. Irwin's.)
Missing,—1 Rank and File.

CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES.—*Killed*,—1 troop horse.

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Wounded,—2 troop horses.
Missing,—2 Rank and File (employed as leader and driver to the guns.)

TOTAL.—*Killed,*—1 Subaltern, 15 Rank and File, 1 bât and 1 troop horse.
Wounded,—1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 27 Rank and File; 1 riding and 2 troop horses.
Missing,—3 Rank and File.

2 Hottentot wagon-drivers killed on the morning of the 24th.
1 English driver wounded ditto.
In all—34 Killed—63 Wounded—and 6 Missing.

On the following day, 26th, the North Eastern point of the Bay, on which the provisions and two 18-pounders, landed from the *Pilot,* had been stored, fell into the hands of the Boers, when two persons were killed, two wounded, and several of the old English resident at the Port, who had joined the troops, made prisoners.

The deplorable situation of the troops in their intrenchment, their privations and praiseworthy endurance, are well told in the following extracts from a letter addressed by Captain Lonsdale of the 27th Regt. to his mother. The letter is dated the 6th August, when he had arrived at Graham's Town.

This is his description of the Boers as an enemy:—

Before proceeding further, I must tell you that the Boers' mode of fighting is much on the same principle as formerly in America—not in a body, but in skirmishing order: they have the very best description of arms, that carry from eight to seventeen balls to the pound: they have almost all of them horses: they will ride within shot, dismount, fire, then mount and retire; and they are most excellent shots.

After recounting the events up to the "untoward" night of the 24th May, he proceeds:—

From the 26th to the 31st May everything was quiet, during which time we did all we possibly could to fortify our camp. During this time, as you may suppose, I was not able to move, but was lying in my tent, with a good deal of fever. On the morning of the 31st May, just before sunrise, we were saluted by a six-pound shot, which passed through the officers' mess tent, knocking

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their kettles and cooking apparatus in all directions. Every one, of course, went to his station in the ditch: the Boers then kept up an incessant fire from four pieces of artillery and small arms, never ceasing for a moment during the whole day till sunset. During the whole day Margaret and Jane were lying on the ground in the tent close by me. Many shot, both large and small, passed through the tent close to us. James was lying in my other tent on the ground, with his legs on the legs of a table, and his dog with him, when a six-pound shot struck the legs of the table just above him, cut them in two, and struck him in the face with some of the splinters. You will say he had a very providential escape. When the attack of the day was over, all the officers came to our tents expecting to find us all dead. During that night I said if they attacked us the next morning we would go into the trench. Margaret then got up and put on a few things, and assisted me in putting on some clothes as well as I could, I had got my trousers on when we were attacked; Margaret and the children ran immediately to the trench, and I was carried into it, and we all laid down or sat up. The firing continued all the day the same as the day before. About the middle of the day the children were getting very hungry, as they had not had any breakfast. Jane said there was a bone of beef in the tent, and that she wonld go for it; but we did not wish her, for she might have been shot; but before I knew anything about it, she was there and back again with the bone, and James with some cheese and biscuit, but we were obliged to be very sparing with our provisions as we did not know how long this was to last. We all slept in the trench this night; the next morning we awoke by a shot from one of the great guns passing just over our heads. The firing continued as usual till about 12 o'clock, when a flag of truce came to the camp to say that the women and children might leave the camp, and go on board one of the ships in the bay; after a little consideration, Margaret consented to go with the children, for they could not be of any use in the camp, and how were they to live when we ran short of provision? So they were escorted to the shore by some of the Boers. Part of the way they went in a large wagon—they were also very polite, and some of them wanted to know if Margaret was old Capt. Smith's *vrouw*. I must also tell you that Margaret and the children were in the first attack the Boers made on our camp 24th May. They went on board the Mazeppa, which was at this time, as was also the other vessel, in the possession of the Boers, who used to go on board when they pleased. On the 10th of June the Mazeppa slipped her cable, and stood out to sea, but not before she received a salute from the Boers at the Point, but she did not receive any injury. After Margaret and the children left, which they did in such a hurry that they had not a change of clothes, the Boers continued the attack, and they

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made trenches all round us, so that no one could go outside the camp, or into a tent, without having a shot at him. We never returned the fire at random, but only when we had a chance of doing some execution. We sent out a party early on the morning of the 18th June, to fill up some of their trenches, and when our party came to it the Boers were alarmed. They fired one round which killed Ensign Prior of our regiment and two men. Our fellows did not give them time to load again, but rushed into the trench and bayonetted almost all of them. At this time nearly all our provisions were gone; we were living on our horses and biscuit dust—six ounces of the former and four of the latter per day; sometimes we had a little corn. We dug a well in our camp, but the water was bad. Sometimes it was difficult to cook our little provisions for want of wood. The wounded suffered very much, as the doctor had nothing in the way of medical comforts: I was lying in the trench twenty-seven days, hardly able to move and not so much as a jacket on.

The farmers appear to have been fully aware of the reduced state of the camp they had beleagured; they had been taught by the beseiged the secret of making trenches, and the use of artillery, and had began to learn the first rudiment of war—a dangerous acquirement to a body of malcontents, but sure to be imparted in a prolonged struggle;—still they had not the courage to do that which, when once committed, they ought to have done, namely, bravely to assail the British intrenchment, but they contented themselves with a dastardly system of annoyance—neither of advantage to themselves nor likely to be destructive to their opponents.

The excitement which the events at Natal had created in the colony was, as might be expected, extreme, and suspicions were even breathed against the loyalty of the Dutch inhabitants, as derogatory to their character as they were unfounded. The residents of the frontier districts, however, who had applied for and procured a Government permission to hold a public meeting on the 23d of June, on the subject of the increasing frequency and boldness of depredations by the Kafirs, with great judgment and prudence resolved to postpone that assemblage, considering the time unsuited for a discussion

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in which the wrongs of the Emigrant Farmers, arising from the same cause, would naturally have come before them.

On the 11th of June a detachment of the 27th Regt., 100 strong, were embarked from Port Elizabeth for the relief of Capt. Smith, and a considerable force was also dispatched from Cape Town, the result of which, and the narrative of the consequent events, will be seen from the following Despatches of Col. Cloete and Capt. Smith, published in an extraordinary Gazette :—

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct the following Despatches from the Officer commanding Her Majesty's Troops at Port Natal, to be published for general information.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope,
16th July, 1842.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,
(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Natal Camp, June 30, 1842.

SIR,—I have the honor to lay before you the following particulars respecting the position of the force under my command, from the date of my last despatch until the period of their being relieved on the 26th of this month by the troops sent for that purpose from the colony.

Various reports having been brought to me on the 25th May respecting the intention of the farmers to make a combined attack on the camp that night, I kept the troops under arms, but nothing transpired until a short time previous to day-break on the following morning, when vollies of musketry, accompanied by the fire of large guns, was heard at the Point, which post, I regret to say, the Boers carried after a desperate resistance on the part of the detachment stationed there. By this untoward event, an 18-pounder, which there had not been time to remove, fell into their hands, as well as the greater portion of the government provisions landed from the Pilot. Fortunately all the powder, with the exception of a small portion for the 18-pounder, had been brought to the camp, in which I had caused a field magazine to be contructed. The Engineer stores were also saved, but there being no place at this post wherein the provisions could be protected from the weather, I had been obliged to leave the greater portion at the Point, merely bringing up a few wagon loads from time to time as required.

Finding myself thus cut off from my supplies, I resolved to con-

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centrate the remainder of my force in the camp, and there await the reinforcement which I made no doubt would be sent from the colony on the receipt of the depatch forwarded by me over-land on the evening of the 25th May, and entrusted to the care of Mr. King.

The Farmers having desired the Captains of the Pilot and Maseppa to write and express to me their willingness to enter into arrangements for the removal of the Troops, which letter reached me the day after the Point fell into their possession,—I accepted their proposal for a truce, being desirous of gaining time to strengthen the post as much as possible. During its continuance, they sent in terms so ridiculously extravagant that, although the quantity of provisions in the camp was extremely limited, I immediately broke off all communication with them, being fully determined, sooner than submit, to endure the extremity of privation. I therefore placed the men upon half allowance, destroyed a small post which I had caused to be erected between the camp and some buildings occupied by the English Residents, and made my position as secure as I possibly could, with a view to holding out to the last.

Their arrangements being completed, the farmers about six A.M. on the 31st, made a desperate attack on the Camp, throwing into it during the course of the day 122 round shot, besides keeping up an incessant fire of musketry. On the following day, (June 1) they slackened their fire of musketry, but threw in 124 round shot, and on the 2d opened a fire from the 18-pounder which they had contrived to bring from the Point, while they still continued their discharges of musketry. During the course of this day they sent the Rev. Mr. Archbell with a flage of truce, proposing to allow the women to quit the camp, and to send back two wounded men, but this was done merely to gain time to repair some works thrown down by the fire from our batteries. Here I think it right to observe, that they were incessantly employed every night in making approaches towards the post, which were constructed with considerable skill; this the nature of the ground enabled them to do with much facility, and from thence a most galling fire was constantly kept up, particularly on the two batteries, wherein I had placed the 18-pounder and howitzer.

Finding that the few cattle remaining at the kraal were dying either from wounds or want of sustenance, I directed that they should be killed and made into *biltong*, reducing the issue to half a pound daily. I also had a well dug in the Camp, which gave good water, there being a risk in going to the vley at night, from whence we had hitherto procured it.

In resuming my detail of proceedings, I may state generally that the attacks on the camp were continued from day to day with more or less spirit by the farmers, who, having soon exhausted their iron balls, fired leaden ones from their large guns, in some instances

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sending them with much precision. Our practice from the camp was excellent, a shot from the 18-pounder having dismounted one of their 6-pounders on the 3d instant, besides wounding several of those attached to it.

On the night of the 8th I sent out a party to detroy some works in our front, which was accomplished without loss. In a subsequent sortie made on the night of the 18th instant, we were less fortunate, although the duty was performed with great gallantry, the boers being surprised in their trenches, and many bayonetted after a stout resistance. In this attack, which was headed by Lieut. Molesworth, 27th Regiment, I had to regret the loss of Ensign Prior, and two privates of the same Corps, who were killed, besides four others being severely wounded.

Upon inquiring into the state of the provisions this day, I found that only three days issue of meat remained. I therefore directed that such horses as were living might be killed and made into *biltong* We had hitherto been issuing biscuit dust, alternating with biscuit and rice, at half allowance. The horse flesh, of which there was but little, we commenced using on the 22d, and by a rigid exactness in the issues, I calculated we might certainly hold out, although without meat, for nearly a month longer, for we had eleven bags of forage corn in store, which I had commenced grinding into meal; and by every one contributing what remained of private into the public stock a tolerable quantity of various articles of sustenance was procured.

On the night of the 24th several rockets, apparently from a vessel in the bay, assured us that relief was nigh at hand; these we answered. On the night of the 25th the many rockets from seaward assured us that not only was a vessel in the bay, but that she was communicating with another in the offing, a surmise corroborated on the following day by the landing of the party under Colonel Cloete, and their final relief of the post in gallant style, between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

To the dry detail of proceedings I have given, I beg to add a few remarks,—and first with respect to our loss. Within the period embraced between the 31st of May and 25th of June, 651 round shot of various sizes had been fired at the Camp, in addition to a continued and watchful fire of musketry; and yet our loss during this period was but 1 Sergeant and 2 Privates of the 27th killed, and 3 wounded; 1 Cape Rifleman and 1 Civilian killed, and 1 wounded, exclusive of the loss I have previously noted as occurring during the sortie on the morning of the 18th instant. The damage of the wagons and tents, and private as well as public property was, however, great; for these it was impossible to secure in such a manner as to preserve them from injury.

Among the serious disadvantages I had to contend with, I may

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mention that the numerous people attached as leaders and drivers, to the different wagons, many having large families, who required to be fed, hampered me sadly in the trenches, while the vast number of cattle, originally with the wagons, were a very material encumbrance. These, however, were soon driven off, for nearly all the boers (contrary to the opinion entertained in the Colony) were mounted, and thence enabled to move from point to point with a celerity which baffled nearly every movement that infantry could make against them.

I have thus given a detail of the chief circumstances connected with the command entrusted to me. That it should have been so far unsuccessful I regret; but the resistance on the part of the farmers since my arrival has been universal; those few who professed themselves friendly, having carefully abstained from giving assistance, in most cases using that profession as a convenient screen for the purpose of hiding their disaffection from observation. All the property of the English residents the Boers plundered and sent to Pietermaritzburg. They also took out the greater part of the freight of the Mazeppa (including the whole of my own property) which they sent to the same place: The prisoners taken at the Point, English residents as well as soldiers, have also been marched thither: and the former have, I understand, been treated with great harshness. After being plundered, the Mazeppa escaped from the harbor on the night of the 10th instant.

In conclusion, I beg to state, that nothing could exceed the patience and cheerfulness evinced by the troops under the privations they suffered, and I feel satisfied, that had it been necessary to have held out for a longer period, they would have endured their further continuance without a murmur.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
J. C. SMITH, Capt. 27th Regt.

His Honor Colonel, HARE, C.B. and K.H.
Lieutenant-Governor.

P.S.—I omitted to mention in its place that a round shot on the 8th instant broke the carriage of the 18-pounder in two places, but we repaired it so as to be perfectly serviceable.

J. C. SMITH.

Port Natal, 28th June, 1842.

Sir,—On the 27th instant, I availed myself of a Caffer messenger to report to your Excellency in a few words, that Capt. Smith was extricated, and Port Natal in our possession.

It is now my duty to give the details of my proceedings.

Her Majesty's ship Southampton, arrived and anchored off Port Natal on the night of the 25th inst.

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Here was found at anchor the schooner Conch, with Captain Durnford, 27th Regt., and a detachment of 100 men, two small howitzers, and some stores, dispatched by Col. Hare, from Algoa Bay, on the 10th inst.

Captain Durnford reported that the insurgent Boers had refused him all communication with Capt. Smith (vide enclosure No 1), who was still holding his post:—that the headlands at the entrance of the harbour were armed with guns, and that the Boers had collected in force to oppose our landing. Signal guns and rockets were fired from the frigate to intimate our arrival to Capt. Smith, and every arrangement made for carrying the place as soon as the tide served, and the frigate could be placed so as to cover our landing.

At 2 o'clock P.M. on the 26th inst., the Southampton was in position, and the troops were embarked in the boats, which, however, could only take eighty-five men. Thirty-five had been previously added to Capt. Durnford's detachment on board the Conch. The sea beach being impracticable the previous order of attack was changed, and I directed Capt. Wells with a detachment of 35 men to land on the first point of the high bluff within the bar, and drive the Boers out of the thick bush, whilst the Conch, the launch armed with a carronade, and the barge, were to proceed direct into the harbour, land, and take possession of the port.

A fresh sea beeze fortunately set into the harbour, at the very time of our advance: The Conch taking thus the boats in tow crossed the bar at 3 o'clock. Captain Wells landed where directed, when a brisk fire was opened on the Conch and boats from both shores—that from the high wooded bluff within twenty yards of the boats; yet in spite of the short range and cross fire, under which the boats had to pass, so quick was our advance, aided by both wind and tide, that but little effect was produced from their fire. When opposite the landing place, from whence the firing still continued, I ordered Major D'Urban to land, who immediately jumped on shore, and we rushed to the flagstaff to pull down the colours and give H. M. frigate notice that we were in possession, and to cease firing.

The Boers abandoned their strong ground the instant we landed, yet so thick was the bush and so broken the ground, that though from the smart fire kept up, they must have been in force, yet not half a dozen of them were over seen; and on the southern bluff, so thick was the wooded covering, that nothing but the smoke from their firelocks was ever seen; I have since learned that the number of boers who defended the port amounted to 350 men: their loss it has been impossible to ascertain.

Having thus seized the port, and landed the men from the Conch the troops were immediately formed, Capt. Durnford was ordered

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to enter the bush on the right and drive the boers before him, whilst I placed myself on a roadway in the centre; Major D'Urban taking the left along the harbour beach.

In this order we advanced through a bush, the character of which it is difficult to describe, and which might have been held by a handful of resolute men, against any assailants.

On reaching the open ground, we found the direction of Captain Smith's entrenched camp by the firing of his heavy gun: we marched upon the point—Capt. Smith now threw out a party, and we joined him at 4 o'clock. Having thus executed your Excellency's commands with all military promptitude, by extricating the brave detachment of troops under Capt. Smith's command, I strengthened his post by Capt. Durnford's detachment, and directed Major D'Urban to hold Stellar's Farm, returning myself to the Port, to arrange a post of defence with such of the troops as I expected would have been landed.

The gallantry with which Captain Smith defended his Post for a whole month, under no ordinary circumstances of privation, having been reduced to horse-flesh for food, closely hemmed in by a desperate and vigilant foe, with no less than twenty-six wounded within his closely confined camp, is highly creditable to him and his party.

Thus was accomplished within the incredible short space of one month, from the date of Captain Smith's Report of his position, the relief of his party, at a distance of 1,500 miles from Cape Town, whence the relief was dispatched, his communication having had to pass through hostile bands and a savage country.

I have now reported to your Excellency the proceedings which have placed me in possession of Port Natal; and I have kept them distinct from any mention of the Naval co-operation and assistance I received from H.M. ship Southampton, feeling it to be due to Captain Ogle, Commanding, to Commander Hill, and the Officers and Seamen of that Frigate, that their services to us should be separately noticed, whether as to the cheerful good will displayed towards us whilst on board, or subsequently in the more important service performed in covering our landing, by the admirable practice from the ship's heavy battery, and spirited assistance given us by Captain Hill, in command of the boats.

In my order of the day I have inadequately endeavored to express my thanks to those Officers, and I should not be doing them justice without repeating it here in the strongest terms.

If our success be not absolutely indebted to the opportune presence of the Conch, to her protection must be mainly ascribed the very small loss we suffered in forcing the entrance.

The troops conducted themselves with the greatest steadiness,

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and I am much indebted to Major D'Urban, for his prompt landing, and the assistance he has afforded me throughout these operations.

I also received the best support from every Officer under my orders in conducting these operations, and particularly so from Lieut. William Napier, who acted as my Aid, and has been of the utmost service to me, not only by his spirit in our active operations, but equally so, by his attention to all details and arrangements so essential on such occasions.

I enclose a return of casualties.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
A. J. CLOETE, Lieut. Colonel,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen. Commanding.

His Excellency Sir George Napier, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

P.S. I also enclose a return of guns and ammunition captured on the 26th.

[ENCLOSURE No. 1.]

De Generaale Commandant van de uitgewekene Emigranten van Natal is stellig van mening hoe ook genaamd geene correspondentie met het lager van Captain Smith toe te laten:

Den 25 Juny, 1842.

(Translation.)

The General Commandant of the Emigrants of Natal has positively determined to allow of no correspondence with Captain Smith's camp.

[ENCLOSURE No. 2.]

H.M.S. Southampton, 26th June, 1842.

MEMORANDUM.

The attack on the Emigrant Farmers' position at Natal will be made in two divisions.

The first under the immediate command of Lieut. Colonel Cloete, who will cross the bar, force the entrance, and seize the sandy point.

The 2d division commanded by Major D'Urban, will land, if practicable, on the sea beach, about a mile above the sandy point, spread himself, take the insurgents in flank, forming by his left a junction with Colonel Cloete's division, and extend his right towards Captain Smith's camp, with whom he will open a communication.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt. Col.
Dep: Qr. Mr. Gen. Commanding.

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[ENCLOSURE No. 3.]

Port Natal, June 27, 1842.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

1. Lieut. Colonel Cloete, commanding the troops at Natal, has to congratulate the detachment Royal Artillery, under Lt. M'Lean; detachment 25th Regiment, under Major D'Urban; and detachment 27th Regiment, under Capt. Durnford, with the success of the expedition on which they were employed in extricating a detachment of Her Majesty's troops under Captain Smith, closely surrounded by bands of hostile insurgent boers, against whom they had gallantly maintained their post for a whole month, though reduced to horse-flesh for food.

Lieut. Colonel Cloete has to thank Major D'Urban and the troops for their steady and spirited conduct in the affair of yesterday.

To the able assistance and spirited co-operation of Captain Ogle, commanding, and Captain Hill, and the officers and seamen of H.M.S. Southampton, is entirely due the very trifling loss sustained in forcing the entrance into the harbour in which the troops received the valuable protection of the Conch, schooner, commanded by Mr. Bell.

2. Correct returns will be sent in immediately to Head-quarters, of the exact strength of the several detachments composing the forces employed at Natal, with a nominal list of the casualties that occurred yesterday evening.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt. Colonel,
Dep. Qr. Mr. Commanding.

Enclosures Nos. 4 and 5 contain Returns of killed and wounded, and of guns and ammunition taken.

2 Killed—4 Wounded.

Port Natal, 3d July, 1842.

Sir,—The immediate effect of taking Port Natal on the afternoon of the 26th ultimo, as reported in my despatch of the 28th to your Excellency, was that on the same night the Master of the Pilot, brig, who had been detained as a prisoner among the Boers, and four other persons, made their escape from Congella during the panic caused by our advance movement on Captain Smith's Camp, and joined me at this place. They reported to me that the Boers had abandoned Congella in the greatest haste, and had taken flight.

On the morning of the 28th however, we discovered with our spy glasses, that there were a number of horses about Congella, and I immediately determined to march upon it, for which purpose I collected from each of the outposts one hundred men, and with this force and a howitzer I took the road to Congella. A small party

of the Insurgent's scouts were seen a little in advance of the place; on perceiving our approach they retired under the shelter of a bush, and we entered the village, consisting of about 15 or 20 houses, without any opposition. Here we found some stores, merchandize, spirits in casks, and their curious establishment for moulding six-pounder leaden shot. I resisted the burning of the place and prevented all plundering; as however the troops were still without any of the provisions to be landed from the Southampton, and with only two day's provisions in hand, I directed such articles of consumption as were necessary for the use of the troops, to be put into a wagon, which we found there, and conveyed these supplies to the Camp.

Four persons inhabitants of Congella gave themselves up to me; one Gueinzius, a German Naturalist, another Scholts practising as a doctor, and two others; I availed myself of these people to convey to these misguided boers, the merciful intentions of Government; placing in their hands a copy of a Public Notice, which I affixed to one of the houses at Congella, and having liberated these people I returned to the out-posts with the troops. I regretted my force did not permit me to leave a guard for the protection of the property, the more so as I felt every apprehension that the number of Kafirs, who had made their appearance as soon as we got into the place, would plunder it the moment of our leaving it.

I understood the boers to have retired to one of their camps about 12 miles off, where they were said to be four hundred strong, with four or five guns.

Without any of my provisions or ammunition yet landed from the Southampton, or any means of organizing transport, I did not feel justified in entering upon any forward movement, which would tend only to lead me away from the more important object of strengthening my posts, forming and securing my magazines.

Upon these objects I have since been engaged, and having required of the Kafirs to bring me in as many horses and cattle as they could get. I have no doubt that I shall soon be in a condition to take the offensive with some effect.

The Boers will in the mean time have had ample time to consider their position, and the terms of my notice; upon the subject of which I received on the 30th ult., a letter from Pretorious, their Military Commandant, asking me if I wished to confer with them, and if so, to appoint a place between Congella and Captain Smith's Camp to meet him. I answered that I could enter into no negotiation with him, without a previous declaration of submission to Her Majesty's Authority. To this I have received no reply.

Several inhabitants, 15 in number, have come in and taken the oath of allegiance.

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the weather had continued so

boisterous that, on an attempt being made on the last of those days to send on shore some provisions, the men's packs and our ammunition, the boats struck on the bar, one man of the 25th Regt. was drowned, the whole of the provisions were lost, all the men's packs thrown over board, and 18,000 rounds of ammunition destroyed. The greater portion of the men's packs were fortunately picked up on the following morning; when we found that the Frigate had been obliged to put out to sea.

I regret to be obliged to close this dispatch with a report which reached me last night, that the Kafirs had begun to set upon the Boers, and that three had been killed by them. The enclosures explain the manner in which I have treated this subject, and upon the principles of which I purpose strictly to act; for if England will not put down the Boers by her own legitimate means, it were better to abandon the question altogether, and submit even to the insult we have received, than to adopt the degrading process of enlisting the savage in our cause, or call upon the Zoolah assegais to commit all the atrocities of indiscriminate bloodshed and spoliation.

I have received such aid from Lieut. Maclean, Royal Artillery, and his services will be of such advantage to me in our forward movement, that I have not sent him back in the Southampton.

I hope to be able to send the sick and wounded by her.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
A. J. CLOETE. Lt. Col.,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

His Excellency Major General
Sir George Napier, K.C.B., &c. &c.

P.S, Since writing the above, the *Maid of Mona* has come to anchor, and the *Reform* is in the offing.

A. J. CLOETE.

[ENCLOSURE No. 1.]—NOTICE.

Congella, Port Natal, 28th June, 1842.

1.—By the authority vested in me, a *free pardon* is hereby granted to all Deserters from her Majesty's army who shall return to their colors at the head quarters of the troops at Port Natal, within *ten days* of this date.

2.—All inhabitants of Natal who shall be peaceably disposed, shall, on making their submission to her Majesty's authority, receive protection and remain unmolested. All those neglecting to do so, will be treated as being in arms against Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) A. J. CLOETE, Lt.-Colonel,
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

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[ENCLOSURE No. 2.]—NOTICE.

Port Natal, 2d July, 1842.

A Report having been brought in to me, that the Kafirs have killed three Boers, (Dirk van Rooyen, Theunis Oosthuizen, and another,)—the insurgent boers are warned of consequences such as these, which it will be impossible to arrest while they continue in arms against Her Majesty's authority; and thus bring all the evils and horrors of Kafir murder and devastation upon themselves, their families, and properties, in spite of every endeavor on the part of Her Majesty's Troops to prevent them.

A. J. CLOETE, Lt.-Colonel,
Dep: Quart. Mast: Gen. Commanding.

Port Natal, 4th July, 1842.

Sir,—Since writing to your Excellency yesterday, I have received from Pretorius a communication, complaining that the Kafirs were committing fierce outrages upon the Boers; that we were receiving the cattle plundered from the Boers,—that the destruction of the Kafirs must follow such proceedings—and that anxious as the boers were to put a stop to all this war and coming bloodshed, that it was impossible for them to accede to the conditions of my notice, which required, as a first step, a declaration of submission to Her Majesty's authority; and he ends his letter thus:—

"I must also acquaint you that we have already made over this country to his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and have called upon that power to protect us, so that we have every right to expect that our cause will be supported in Europe."

My answer to this letter is enclosed. [See below.)

I have also been informed that Pretorius and his hostile bands have retired from this neighbourhood, to within 15 miles of Maritzburg; this sudden move I ascribe to the rumour that has just reached me, that Panda and the Zoolahs were marching against the Boers.

All this is a melancholy state, but unavoidable, when dealing with such elements.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

A. J. CLOETE, Lieut. Colonel,
Dep. Qr. Mr. Gen., Commanding.

His Excellency Major General
Sir George Napier, K.C.B., &c. &c.

P.S. The detachment by the *Maid of Mona* has been landed.

A. J. C.

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Copy.] Port Natal, 3d July, 1842.

Sir,—I have received your letter of this day's date, and no one can lament more than myself, the melancholy prospect before us of seeing the savage engaged in a murderous onset of extermination against you and your fellow countrymen; but it is an evil so unavoidably consequent upon the events which you and your unfortunate misguided people have brought about by your acts of determined hostility against her Majesty's Government and Troops, that it ought not to surprise you; and in spite of all my efforts to prevent, and my determination to arrest as far as in me lies, these excesses (as you will have seen by my public notices of yesterday which I have sent to you), you must be perfectly well aware, that beyond such positive prohibition, and the having employed persons to explain my determination to the Kafirs, I have no power over these people.

I have certainly required the Kafirs to bring into my cantonments all the horses and cattle they can get, so as to enable me to act with vigour, and put down the state of war and bloodshed which you have spread over these districts; and to expect that I should deprive myself of the only means I possess of equipping myself, and that, too, in the face of your having cut off the whole of Captain Smith's cattle, to the amount of some seven hundred oxen, besides causing the destruction of his horses, and having further seized all the stores of those inhabitants who are peaceably disposed towards Her Majesty's Government, is to suppose me incapable of reasoning and acting.

You have caused the horrors of this state of things, and you must bear the consequences to yourselves, you properties, your wives and your children.

You say you would still be disposed to avert the evils of this coming bloodshed, which you are aware will lead to extermination. If you are sincere in this there can be nothing degrading, in so great a cause to humanity, in your giving in your submission to Her Majesty's authority, as an indispensable and preliminary step to a final adjustment, which you may be very certain the Government has every disposition to settle with justice and leniency towards the Emigrant Farmers; and in the favorable interpretation to your interests, you will find in myself a friend, rather than one inimical to your unhappy countrymen.

I regret much that you should have allowed yourselves to be so grossly deceived with regard to the intentions of the King of Holland, by a person totally unaccredited, and that you should have been urged to act as you have, upon the vain supposition that any of the European Powers would lend an ear to any question arising between England and her Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, of

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which you cannot be so ignorant as not to know that Port Natal has always been a dependency,

I shall be happy to lend my best efforts to arrest any general rising, or partial acts of violence of the Zoolahs or Kafirs; but I feel my incapacity to do much in this respect, while your people continue in arms against Her Majesty's authority, and thus lead these Tribes to think that whatever injury they do you, must be pleasing to the government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
A. J. CLOETE, Lieut. Colonel.
Dep. Quart. Mast. Gen., Commanding.

To Mr. PRETORIUS.

The particulars of Lieut.-Colonel Cloete's *pacification* at Natal is thus related by an individual on the spot, which, making allowance for the bitterness of the spirit it displays, appears to be in the main correct:—

A provisional settlement of Natal affairs, has been made by Col. Cloete, but the terms have not yet been complied with. The treaty with the Boers is most dishonorable to the British Government, and the circumstances attendant upon it are most humiliating to the troops, and to the loyal subjects of the Queen here.

The Boers, by the loss of the engagement at the point, on the arrival of the *Southampton* and *Conch*, were so panic struck that they never recovered themselves. Many returned home, and the rest retired to a very respectful distance—where they halted for a short time, but ultimately fell back to near Pietermauritzberg. They were, in short, completely routed and broken up, and must have submitted to any terms the British commander might have chosen to exact from them. He did not, however, avail himself of the advantage this afforded him, but demeaned himself and compromised the British flag by going to meet them at a place of their own appointment, and when there, allowed them very nearly their own terms—and which, when afterwards verbally explained, were found to mean nothing. The terms of the treaty are—

1. That the Boers should acknowledge themselves British subjects—but not requiring them to swear allegiance to the Queen. 2. That the pieces of ordnance be given up. 3. That all public and private property be restored. 4, That all prisoners be liberated.

On the first, I shall say nothing. The second, in respect to the Ordnance, is a part of the treaty which all felt to be of the greatest importance to the future preservation of the public peace. How much then were we disappointed to find that Col. Cloete, after

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stooping to wait upon the Boers, accompanied by only three or four attendants, at Pietermauritzberg, had allowed Pretorius—a man, who at first, when the terms of the amnesty were signed by the deputation, he found it requisite to exclude from the hope of pardon—to retain his brass gun, a four-pounder, which more than any other annoyed the camp during the seige.

The third clause of the treaty refers to the restoration of property, in respect to which, the following verbal understanding was given, viz:—

That the treaty merely had reference to the property then in their hands, and not that which had been consumed, destroyed, or conveyed away. This, of course, left them an opportunity of withholding the greatest part of the property which had been taken; and the Boers were heard to say at the close of the conference—"We will take care that the English shall have little enough restored to them."

Though Col. Cloete leaves us to-morrow, not any of the property has yet been received, nor do we expect to recover a tenth part of what we have lost, while that which is returned will be greatly depreciated in value. This you will say is great injustice to Her Majesty's subjects, who on account of their loyalty have suffered in common with the troops; some of them imprisoned, accompanied by insult and cruelty. Those who have not been deprived of their liberty have had to submit to the most degrading inequality.

But the worst part of the story is yet to be told. Colonel Cloete on his arrival sent for the Kafir chiefs and desired them to go out and bring to the camp all the cattle and horses they could find, and that for all brought in they should receive payment. "But mind you," he added, "do not kill the women and children." This was a thing just suited to the Kafir taste. They set off immediately, and the following day brought in a small lot of cattle, a tythe of Dirk Van Rooyen's large herd, first having murdered Van Rooyen himself, together with Marthinus Osterhuisen and his son. The Kafirs stripped the wives of the murdered boers naked, cut and mangled them, and then drove them from their homes in that hapless condition. These men had not been engaged in the war, but on the contrary had early tendered their allegiance to Captain Smith.

The following and succeeding days the Kafirs brought in Landmen's, Raat's, Cowie's, Gregory's, Old Kemp's, and Lass', or rather a small number from each, the greater part having been driven another way. Now these men were all peaceable and well-disposed British subjects, and who, on account of their loyalty, were unapprehensive of danger. When their cattle were taken they instantly complained to the head of the troops, but soon heard sufficient to convince them it was as great an evil to be defended as to be attacked. They were told that he must have cattle, that he

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would not pay for what were used, but that when he had done with them those which might be left would be returned to their owners. As to those the Kafirs had taken but not brought in, he had nothing to do with them, and that the owners might be thankful they had escaped with their heads.

The property of the few English here, and of the well-disposed Dutch being in this way swallowed up, the one half by their foes, and the other by their friends, they have no alternative but to remonstrate with the higher authorities, and plead for that justice to which by the British constitution every British subject is entitled. This remonstrance will be sent in at the proper time, and in the meanwhile it will be well to allow a good deal of reservation, in giving credit to the glowing accounts which it is thought will be given of affairs here on the arrival of Col. Cloete at the Cape. With regard to the men who were excluded from the general amnesty—the heads of the insurgents were told they would not be demanded, and that if they kept out of the way no one would be at the trouble of looking for them.

Two of them, Burgers and Prinslo, had the audacity to wait upon Col. Cloete at Pietermauritzberg, and were told that he would speak favorably of them to the Governor. The two Bredas sent in their names, but were refused an interview. To the question, could they go to the bay to fetch their goods? the reply was, "no, they must not go themselves, but might send for them." One of these men, the younger Breda, is the principal in the piracy committed on the *Mazeppa* and *Pilot*, and yet he is not only allowed to escape, but is aided in doing so!

You will hear more on this subject soon, but I send you this now as Col. Cloete is leaving, and which is the only thing he has done since he has been here which has given perfect satisfaction.

The boers say his treaty is too good to be true, and they are making up their minds for an explosion. They say they have not been called upon to acknowledge themselves British subjects, but merely to allow the establishment of British law. In short they do not know in what position they stand to Great Britain, nor does Col. Cloete appear to have any clear perception of this subject himself. They are, he says, British subjects, but yet he allows them an independent executive! and we have now, therefore, *two* governments here.

Extract from another letter dated Port Natal, July 21.

After the camp was relieved and the point taken by the arrival of the *Southampton*, had the advantages been followed up, a very large amount of property would have fallen into the hands of its proper owners, while the cause of the rebels would have been irretrievably lost. Even two days afterwards, when Congella was in possession of the troops, much property might have been saved, but

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no steps were taken to subdue hostilities or to protect or remove the property already taken, and the rebels ventured to convey it away from the mouths of the British guns.

This supineness rendered strong measures imperative, and paved the way for the introduction of Kafir assistance, to which Col. Cloete's predecessor in his greatest extremity refused to have recourse. He perceived the lawless disposition of such allies, and that he might raise a storm which it might be impossible to govern. His successor it appears, had no such fears, and the Kafirs were accordingly authorised by him to seize cattle and horses, with but one injunction, which was intended to preserve the women and children from the violence of their unrelenting hands;—a measure this fraught with the most disasterous events.

The Kafirs elated with this authority, instantly proceeded to exercise it, and, in keeping with the measures of Col. Cloete, treating friend and foe alike, occasioned the most grievous reverses of fortune and committed the most appalling cruelties upon peaceable and loyal British subjects,—who, conscious of unflinching integrity, were unapprehensive of danger, until the unsheathed sword was bathed in the blood of those unsuspecting victims to Kafir cupidity.

One part of the story, not less sanguinary, remains yet to be told. The treaties having been signed, the Boers applied for the cattle taken by the Kafirs, and who were desired to restore them. Before, however, any arrangement for this could take place, the Boers fell upon the Kafirs—who were left to defend themselves in the best way they could. While I am writing report says that on the Umgani a whole kraal (or village), tolerably large, has been massacred!

With regard to the treaty obliging the restitution of property—it really means nothing, and hence the Boers refuse to restore anything but what they in mercy to the sufferers think proper. Not more than a third of the cattle known and acknowledged to be in their hands have been sent down, and the whole restitution as yet made by them does not amount to 3 per cent. of the lost property.

The following is the official account of the termination of hostilities:—

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

His Excellency the Governor is pleased to direct the following information to be made publicly known.

Lieut.-Colonel Cloete left Port Natal on the 21st ult., on board Her Majesty's Ship *Isis*, and arrived in Simon's Bay yesterday afternoon, accompanied by a portion of the troops sent to reinforce the detachment under Captain Smith, and has reported to His Excellency the Governor the final cessation of hostilities between

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Her Majesty's troops and the insurgent boers—no further hostile demonstration having been shown by them after the troops under Lieut. Colonel Cloete's orders were landed.

The Emigrant farmers having made a solemn declaration of their submission to the Queen, having released the prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians,—having given up the cannon captured, as well as those belonging to themselves, and having restored all public as well as private property seized by them.—The Lieut. Colonel acting under the powers vested in him by the Governor, granted a general amnesty or free pardon to all Persons who might have been engaged in resistance to Her Majesty's Troops and authority, with the exception of

Joachim Prinslo—A. W. Pretorius—J. J. Burgher—Mich. van Breda—and Servaas van Breda.

He further declared, that all private property would be respected—that the Emigrant Farmers should be allowed to return to their farms, with their guns and horses—that they should be defended from any attack by the Zoolahs—that the tenure of their lands should not be interfered with, pending the determination and settlement of Her Majesty's Government—that beyond the limits fixed for the military occupation, their existing administration and civil institutions should not be interfered with till the pleasure of Her Majesty should be made known,—that the Kafirs should not be molested in the occupation of the lands on which they were settled at the date of the arrival of Her Majesty's troops—subject to such future arrangements as may be made for general security by Her Majesty; and by a subsequent article appended to the conditions of this surrender,—the Lieut. Colonel, in consideration of Mr. A. W. Pretorius having co-operated in the final adjustment of the articles of surrender, and of his personal humane conduct to the prisoners, and his general moderation, included him in the amnesty which he had extended to all, with the exceptions above named.

Major D'Urban, and a second detachment of the 25th were to leave Port Natal, on or about the 25th ultimo, leaving Captain Smith in command of the Post, with a force of 350 men.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, Aug. 1, 1842.
By command of His Excellency the Governor.
(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,
Acting Secretary to Government.

ACT OF SUBMISSION, &c. &c.

Pietermauritzburg, 15th July, 1842.

We, the Undersigned, duly authorised by the Emigrant Farmers of Pietermauritzburg, Natal, and the adjacent country, do dereby tender for them and onrselves ourselves, our solemn declaration of

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submission to the authority of Her Majesty the Queen of England.

And we do further accept and subscribe to the following terms that have been required :—

1st. The immediate release of all prisoners, whether Soldiers or Civilians.

2d. The giving up of all Cannon in our possession, those taken as well as others, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them.

3d. The restitution of all public and private property in our possession, which had been confiscated.

Pietermauritburg, July 15, 1842.

President and Members of the Council.

J. Boshoff, President,
P. A. R. Otto,
M. H. Marias,
E. F. Potgieter,
J. Bodenstein,
H. St. Lombardt,
J. H. Bruwer,
P. Bester,
C. J. van Heerden,
J. du Pleissies,
W. J. Pretorius,
L. S. Botma.

Pietermauritzburg, 15th July, 1842.

The Emigrant Farmers of Pietermauritzburg, Natal, and the adjacent country, having by their duly authorised Commissioners this day complied with and fulfilled the several conditions required from them, viz :

1. Entered a solemn declaration of submission to Her Majesty's authority.

2 The immediate release of all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilians.

3. The giving up of all cannon in their possession.

4. The restitution of all public and private property.

I do hereby, acting under the authority of His Excellency the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, grant and ratify to the said Emigrant Farmers the following articles as agreed upon this day at Pietermauritzburg.

1. A General Amnesty or Free Pardon to all persons who may have been engaged in resistance to Her Majesty's troops and authority, with the exception of

Joachim Prinsloo,
A. W. Pretorius,
J. J. Burger,
Michl. van Breda,
Servaas van Breda,

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whose cases must be left for the special consideration of His Excellency the Governor,

2. All private property whether of houses, goods, or chattels, shall be respected.

3. The Emigrant Farmers shall be permitted to return to their farms with their guns and horses, unmolested.

4. The Farmers shall be taken under protection against any attack of the Zoolahs or other Native Tribes.

3. The tenure of their lands shall not be interfered with, but must be left for the final determination and settlement of Her Majesty's Government.

6. The existing administration and civil institutions, under acknowledgment of Her Majesty's Supremacy, shall not be interfered with till the pleasure of Her Majesty shall be made known. But these are not to extend any jurisdiction to Port Natal, which is placed for the present under the exclusive control of the Military Commandant of Her Majesty's Troops; the limits of Port Natal being defined by the Umlasi to the West, the Umgheni to the East, and a line along the ridges and crest of the Barea Hills, joining these two Rivers, to the North.

7. The Caffers shall for the present remain in the unmolested occupation of the grounds on which they were upon the arrival of Her Majesty's troops, subject to such future arrangements as the Government may find necessary to make for general security.

8. All Port and Custom Dues belong to the Crown; and must be left to the disposal of Her Majesty's Government.

A. J. CLOETE, Lt.-Col.,
Dep. Quarter Master Gen. Commanding.

Additional Article.

In consideration of Mr. A. W. Pretorius having co-operated in the final adjustment of these articles, and of his personal humane conduct to the prisoners, and his general moderation,—the amnesty granted in the 1st Article is hereby fully extended to him.

A J. CLOETE, Lt. Col.
Dep. Quarter Master Gen. Commanding.
By Command,
W. J. D'URBAN, Major 25th Regt.

PROCLAMATION

For the apprehension of the persons exempted from the amnesty.

By His Excellency Major-General Sir George Thomas Napier, K. C. B. &c. &c.

Whereas certain Subjects of Her Majesty, resident at Port Natal and certain territories adjacent or appertaining thereto, did lately,

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contrary to their allegiance, levy and make rebellion and war against Her Majesty, and did thereby expose themselves to the pains and penalty of high treason.

And whereas, for divers reasons moving me thereto, I did authorize and empower Lieut.-Col. Cloete, the officer commanding the expedition recently dispatched from this colony for the suppression of the said rebellion, to offer a free pardon to such of Her Majesty's Subjects as should return to their allegiance, with the exception of such persons as he should find, from information to be acquired on the spot, had forfeited by their marked and conspicuous criminality, all claims to share in Her Majesty's clemency.

And whereas Lieut.-Colonel Cloete, acting under such power and authority, did upon the 15th of July, 1842, grant a general amnesty or free pardon to all persons who might have been engaged in resistance to Her Majesty's troops and authority, with the exception of Joachim Prinslo, Jacobus Johannes Burger, Michiel van Breda, and Servaas van Breda, whose cases were left for my special consideration.

And whereas after maturely considering the nature and circumstances of the said resistance, as well as the cases of the said persons last-mentioned, I have come to the conclusion that the said persons shall, if possible, be made amenable to justice, and dealt with according to law;—I do hereby PROCLAIM AND OFFER A REWARD OF ONE THOUSAND POUNDS to any Person or Persons who shall apprehend and lodge in any of Her Majesty's Prisons, or with the Officer commanding Her Majesty's Forces at Natal, the said Joachim Prinslo, Jacobus Johannes Burger, Michiel van Breda, and Servaas van Breda; or TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS for each of the said persnos who shall be apprehended and lodged in manner aforesaid.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

The following is the Boers' account of the resistance at Natal and the loss they experienced in the affair (seven killed and nine wounded). It is from a letter picked up in the trenches at that place, the day after Colonel Cloete had forced an entrance and relieved Captain Smith, and the force of the emigrants had been driven from the port:—

Round the English Camp, this 19th June, 1842.

SIR AND GOOD FRIEND * * * I hereby give you an account of our proceedings here and what we have been doing, and that through God's mercy I and the man who came with me have still been spared from the murderous balls which by hundreds have been flying around us.

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On the 23rd inst. our Commandant took his (Capt. Smith's) oxen, whereupon he commenced a heavy firing upon us, but we did not return a shot. In the same night Capt. Smith crept up to our camp along the sea-shore with two guns and a party of soldiers —but our guards espied them, and, when he had come near upon us, we commenced with barely fifty men to fire, and we repulsed him. About thirty Englishmen were killed, either by our fire or drowned. We took two beautiful guns with their carriages and oxen, and not a single man of ours was wounded. On the same night our Commandant attacked their camp, and kept up firing until all our powder and shot were expended. In that attack were killed Piet Greyling and his son John; J. Prinslo, P Vel, and F. Schuts were wounded but not mortally.

The day after this two ships arrived, bringing provisions, ammunition, and two immensely large guns for Captain Smith, whereupon he broke open our store on the beach and placed the goods from the ships in it, leaving there one gun and a strong detachment, whereupon our Commandant made an attack on the store on the 30th and took it. Three soldiers were killed and seventeen taken prisoners, whom we took together with their gun, and the English who had lived at Natal, and who are all now in custody as criminals at Pietermauritzberg, as they also fought against us in the beginning, and two of them were killed. We then took possession of all the things of Smith's, as also of the English residents, as well as what we found in their houses as in the ships, and between 70 to 80 wagon loads of those things were taken to Pietermauritzberg, and a quantity of their cattle is also there. The two ships were also taken possession of, but one run away on the 13th inst., and with the latter Archbell* also made off, who we believe came here with Captain Smith, but he has left two wagons behind, of which we have also taken possession. All this time Captain Smith began fortifying his position with his wagons and trenches and ditches, having still two cannons in his camp. We therefore could make little impression on him, but we also made trenches all round him, so that not one could show his head without having some balls fired at him —for we also made ditches round his camp from which we fired day and night, and he also returned us the fire. From which between the 6th and 12th inst. were killed, Ths. Marais [the next name is illegible] and B. Kloppers by cannon shot, and on the night of the 17th† the English crept out of their camp quietly and stormed our trenches where a party of ours lay asleep, having two sentries out who were both killed; their names were Strydom and Hattingh.

* A respected English Missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion.

† This is the night attack mentioned by Capt. Smith in his despatch of the 30th June, headed by Lieut. Molesworth, in which Ensign Prior and two privates were killed, and four others severely wounded.

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Six more were wounded, but not mortally. Three English bodies are lying dead on the ground, but we dare not venture to go out of the trenches to see whether there are more lying, as they keep firing upon every one who comes out. We therefore keep in our trenches, and as these advance fire from them at the camp continually, as we can do no more than starve them out, for he has not more in his camp than about 20 horses.

My good friend, * * * I have now to beg of you that you will make this news public throughout your division, so that every one may know the truth, for I fear that many lies go abroad, and particularly tell this to my wife. I now end with kind regards to all, and chiefly to my wife and children, who perhaps I may never see again. Tell the Boers in your division to keep themselves in readiness to relieve us on the first order being given, for it is uncertain how long still this may last.

That the opinions occasionally expressed by the compiler of these papers, regarding the affairs of Natal, may not be considered as peculiar to himself or his brother Colonists, he has upon several occasions quoted those of the British press at home, which, it is somewhat novel to find, coincide so exactly with the views of men on the spot—able to judge from their proximity to the scenes themselves, of their weight and importance. The *Spectator*, newspaper, published in London on the 17th September, makes the following pertinent remarks on the events just described :—

Another colonial subject forces itself upon our attention—the state of the expedition sent from the Cape of Good Hope to take military possession of Natal, the settlement founded by the Dutch farmers. Three sets of news have been received: according to the earlier, the small detachment had been deprived of its stores and hemmed in by a vastly superior force; according to a later report, the commander, Captain Smith had been wounded and had surrendered with the remainder of his men; the latest accounts say that he and his soldiers are "safe." The history of the expedition is *in every respect discredible* to the colonial authorities. The farmers were driven to emigrate by a fast-and-loose policy, that *exacted obedience* to the law from them, but *left them exposed to the lawless aggressions of the aborigines on the border*, with other grievances of a practical nature; from which, unable to obtain redress, they fled, and established a settlement of their own beyond the frontier. They asserted independence of the British Government; and instead of instantly quashing the treasonable attempt, the Government parleyed with them for a series of years; during which the

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rebel emigrants overcame the first difficulties of their position, and were fortified by the accession of numbers and the habit of self-reliance. At last the Government resorted to action, but did so in such manner *as to insure defeat:* a very small body of soldiers were sent, not by sea but by land, over a difficult country, encumbered with baggage-wagons which they had to force across more than a hundred rivers and streams,—as if the object had been to present the little band, exhausted and disheartened, before the sturdy multitude over whom they were to assert British supremacy. We have seen what is their perilious and doubtful position. A larger force has now been sent to carry on the war, which was bred in misgovernment and fostered by neglect and culpable feebleness of action. But the subject was "only a Colonial one," and so "the department" has been made answerable only to itself!

The arrival of the news of the pacification of affairs at Natal, caused a very general burst of indignation at the terms of the Treaty, and the conduct of the officer who had made it —in which was included the Governor himself—by whom it was supposed they had been dictated, and who publicly thanked, in the general orders of the 19th of July, the Commander of the Expedition, and all the parties concerned therein.

To mark the sense of the services of Captain Smith, for "*maintaining his post at Port Natal against an overwhelming force of rebels, from the 24th of May to the 26th of June.* 1842," a large subscription was immediately set on foot to purchase him a Sword, in which both the friends and enemies to the late pacification joined: but as this subscription was considered by many persons as much a mark of disapprobation of Col. Cloete's conduct as of admiration of that of Capt. Smith's, the personal friends of the former officer began, also, to collect subscriptions in order to present him with a testimony of their respect and good feeling—which he very judiciously declined, begging them to arrest further proceedings thereon—"the legitimite objects to a soldier in the performance of his duty, being the approbation of his Commander-in-Chief, which it has been my good fortune to have received, and that of his sovereign, which I trust I may have deserved."

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That the terms were galling to our self-love, and humiliating to the Sovereign there can hardly be two opinions, but the mesh, into which the whole Natal affair had been entangled by negligence, rashness and procrastination, offered no other method of escape. The clamour raised against Col. Cloete was, therefore, both insensate and unjust. "No other measures than those adopted by the Colonel presented any substantial hopes of better, or even similar success, they were judicious in themselves, dictated alike by the necessity of the case, by humanity, and by sound policy, and they afforded the best means of averting a train of evils, of which it would have been at once useless and unwise to incur the risk, and which might have been widely ruinous in their consequences." Such are the opinions regarding the conduct of Col. Cloete by all men of discerning minds, and who are acquainted with the intricacies of the subject. The Governor had flattered himself and the Secretary of State, and even Capt. Smith himself laid the "unction to his soul," that there could be no resistance from the Boers,—and when it did come, invited as it had been by the smallness of the force despatched overland, it was requisite to escape out of the scrape in the best and only way possible, which was that followed by Colonel Cloete.

Sir George Napier's approval of Col. Cloete's conduct, at a time when a furious persecution was maintained by the anti-colonial press against all the actors in the pacification, was frank, high-spirited, and generous in the extreme—he braved the public storm of indignation and obloquy, taking to himself the whole responsibility, but at the same time he seems to admit that such terms as had been made were only excusable "under the *peculiar* circumstances of the case:"—

Colonial Office, Cape Town,
12th August, 1842.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters noted in the margin,*

* 28th June, 1842; 3d July, 4th do., 6th do., 9th do., 10th do., 18th do. 5th August.

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and of the inclosures which accompanied them, detailing the operations which, in conformity with His Excellency's instructions, dated the 13th of June last, were carried into effect by you for reinforcing Captain Smith, for re-establishing the Supremacy of the British Authority in the neighborhood of Port Natal, and for bringing the rebellious Emigrant farmers to subjection, by compelling them to acknowledge their allegiance to the Queen.

After a careful perusal of these Reports, and an anxious consideration of all the circumstances by which you were influenced, in adopting the line of policy pursued by you on this occasion, His Excellency is of opinion, that your proceedings were in strict accordance with the spirit of your Instructions, and that the main objects of the expedition, viz.: the suppression of the revolt, and the establishment of the Queen's authority, having been effected, it became expedient and necessary to prevent the further effusion of blood, by extending towards the rebels a leniency to which their violent conduct and determined hostility gave them little title to expect.

His Excellency, therefore, desires me to convey to you his full approval of the measures thus submitted for his consideration in your several reports, now under acknowledgment, and to express his conviction that, *under the peculiar circumstances of the case,* no other line of conduct could have been pursued from which there could have been expected to result a settlement so satisfactory as that which you have concluded, and which it was highly desirable to conclude within as short a time as practicable, in order that the 25th Regiment might be in readiness to proceed on the important service assigned to them.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
J. MOORE CRAIG.

Lieut.-Colonel Cloete, K.H.,
Commander, Cape Castle.

That the Colonial Secretary of State had been lulled, as has been stated, into security as to the character and temper of the Natal emigrants, will appear by the speech of Lord Stanley in the House of Commons on the 18th of April, 1842, wherein he is reported to have said,—"*He did not think there was the least chance of any collision between the Boers and our Troops.*"

A fitting commentary upon the various public declarations of the Boers, giving Kafir depredations as one of the reasons

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for their departure from the Colony, and disinclination to return to it, will be found in the proceedings of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province during the month of August of the present year, 1842. A quarterly meeting, it is to be observed, is held at Fort Beaufort, at which all persons who lose cattle by Kafir depredators are invited to assemble; or, to quote the pure, elegant and classical words of the notice of the Agent General*—"When His Honor the Lieut.-Governor will attend for the purpose of hearing persons who have anything to say to him on the subject of their claims for compensation, for depredations committed by the native tribes."

At this meeting the Lieutenant-Governor and some of the Kafir chiefs sit *ostensibly* to adjudicate the respective cases, and award remuneration, but *really* that the chiefs, with their well known adroitness, may palaver His Honor into the belief that they and their people are the honestest of men, and evade, or procrastinate (with all the appearances of anxiety to repay) the recovery of stolen property. At the periodical meeting of this month,

"His Honor expostulated with the chiefs at considerable length, and in very forcible terms dwelt on the baseness and faithlessness of their conduct, in suffering their people to plunder the Colony in the way they had been doing,—and which had been carried to such a length, and conducted with such audacity, that even those who had ever shewn a disposition to befriend them, were compelled to give up their case as hopeless, and to admit that they were without excuse; —*that he held in his hand an account of* 2,180 *head of cattle, and* 240 *horses, which had been stolen from the colony since his visit there in April last, and that these cases were undeniable, as he had not brought forward a single instance on which he had not full proof of their guilt.*"

* An extraordinary and anomalous appointment, because uniting in one person the duties—1st, of AGENT GENERAL FOR THE KAFIR TRIBES, therefore their special advocate—and 2ndly, at the same time those of SECRETARY TO HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, the protector of the colonists of the border against Kafir depredation;—in short, *Attorney-General for the Colony, and Counsel for the Thieves.* Justice is depicted blind. Whether this fortunate functionary is so or not, or whether only of one eye, is not known, but it is unquestionable that the authority which permitted the creation of an office combining such contradictory duties, must have had no better sight than a puppy of three days existence.

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He then demanded restitution, which was never half made, and threatened punishment, which was never—perhaps not intended to be—executed. To expect the Emigrant Farmers to return to the colony to experience anew these disgraceful aggressions, and the absurd means taken to repress or repair them, when at Natal they are able to keep them under by a vigorous administration, is about as great a farce as the Quarterly Meetings themselves.*

After Colonel Cloete's pacification, matters remained tranquil at Natal; but in the Colony a fierce paper war was for a considerable time kept up, relative to the non fulfilment of the conditions by the Farmers. Among the rest of the allegations laid to the doors of these people, was the very serious one of having attempted to engage a German physician of the name of Gueinzius, to poison the pond of water from which Capt. Smith, while entrenched, procured his supply. It was gravely stated, went the round of the papers, and it was pretty generally believed that "the honest German refused, and by his urgent entreaties induced the leaders of the boers to forego their intention, but not before Gueinzius' refusal had been fully discussed by the Emigrant's Council."

This atrocious slander was publicly denied by Dr. Gueinzius himself, on the 20th of August, through the Zuid Afrikan Newspaper, in the following terms:—

As regards the accusation itself, I must candidly declare, that it is perfectly *untrue*, nay, impossible, that the Chief Commandant and the other esteemed men composing the council of the Farmers,

* The Depredations of the Kafir people are ordered to be recorded by the proper officers, and published *monthly* in the Government Gazette,—this is, however, by some new arrangement, only done *quarterly*, although depredations have fearfully increased, but by a strange, yet perfectly consistent mode peculiar to the government of this colony, the *proceedings* of the Quarterly Meetings are never reported. The public, it is true, have the offer of access, but this offer is of no use, the place of meeting being so distant. These proceedings are fraught with the highest interest. Every case reported! Heaven knows not one-tenth undergoes scrutiny—cattle are demanded in restitution—murderers requested to be given up—breaches of treaty gravely discussed, and all the arts of civilization brought out into high relief with savage cunning!!! Really it is a shame the Government do not publish the proceedings, for they would be instructive, and certainly amusing.

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and who invariably exhibited the most noble proofs of gallantry and of love towards enemies, could for a moment even have cherished the idea of taking into their consideration such a detestable scheme—devised only by rude and barbarous beings, unworthy the company of the Farmers.

No, Sir, I repeat that it is *untrue* and *impossible*, and could adduce as a proof the humane conduct displayed by Mr. Pretorius and his men towards the wounded in the affray at Congella, who, chiefly on the ground that they could not receive sufficient medical treatment in the Camp of the Farmers, were sent back to the English Camp with the greatest care and humanity, to which those men will certainly bear witness; as also how the Farmers, often with tears of the most upright sympathy in their eyes, came to inquire whether the necessary assistance was rendered to their wounded enemies.

The remainder of this year, with the exception of some trifling incidents, appears to have passed in tranquility at Natal;—but a change was made by order of the Governor in the Customs rate of duties from 10 per cent.—the *foreign** rate, to that of the *British* duty of 3 per cent., which alteration was authorized on the 12th of October—the reason given being, "*the present position of affairs at Natal.*" On the 24th of October, Capt. Smith published a Notice and Proclamation relative to the issue of titles to land by the Emigrants' Council, which he declared illegal as follows:—

NOTICE.

A complaint having been made to me by certain of her Majesty's subjects residing within the territory of Natal, in which it is set forth that one Jan Meyer, (acting, as he affirmed, under the authority of T. Boshoff, calling himself Landdrost of Pietermauritzburg) had tendered for their acceptance documents purporting to be the titles of their farms, for the which he demanded payment, and on their refusal threatened them with their being summoned to Pietermauritzburg, and there compelled to receive them on penalty of forfeiture of their lands:

I do hereby, acting under the immediate authority of his Excellency Sir George Napier, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Colony and its dependencies, utterly prohibit the issuing of such documents, and declare the act, therefore, to be illegal; the power to guarantee a right to the land now held by the Emigraut Farmers and other of her Majesty's subjects residing in

* Vide, Part I, page 22.

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the Natal territory resting solely with her Majesty's Government, or those to whom such power shall be delegated. And I further warn all persons, whether British subjects or otherwise, who may be concerned in preparing, signing, or in any manner circulating the aforesaid illegal documents, that by so doing they subject themselves to the heavy penalties attached to seditious and treasonable practices.

Given under my hand, at Port Natal, this 24th day of October, 1842.

(Signed) J. C. SMITH, 27th Regt.
Commandant of Natal, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Emigrant Farmers, and others, occupying the Natal Territory.

Having learned with mingled feelings of surprise and regret, that illegal and seditious documents, purporting to be titles to the lands now in possession of the Emigrant Farmers, and made out in the name of the Dutch Republic of Natal, have been recently put in circulation from Pietermauritzburg; I deem it my duty to apprize the Farmers of the evil consequences which must necessarily result from a proceeding so extraordinary; and which is directly at variance with the terms of the Treaty to which they have subscribed, wherein it is expressly stated that "the tenure of these lands shall not be interfered with, but must be left for the final determination and settlement of Her Majesty's government." Fully impressed with a desire that nothing further should be done by the Farmers, to put in peril their claim to the merciful consideration of the Crown; and convinced that the injudicious and illegal act to which I refer, has been the work of certain ill-disposed individuals, and is not participated in by the people at large, I must distinctly apprize them, that the authority to grant titles to the lands which they at present hold, can only emanate from Her Majesty; and be carried into effect by those persons to whom the Queen shall think fit to depute her authority for that purpose. And I deem it right to add, in order that no misconception may remain on the minds of the Farmers regarding a matter of so much importance to their interests, that His Excellency Sir George T. Napier, K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Colony, while instructing me not to disturb the Emigrants in the peaceful occupation of any lands now held by them, desired me to inform them that he could neither guarantee to them the issuing of title deeds, nor send a commission to make any arrangements preliminary to that end; as these questions must remain for the ultimate decision of Her Majesty's government.

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I think it right also to point out to the Farmers, an erroneous idea which some seditious and evil-minded persons have sought to impress on the less instructed of their brethren; viz: That the English government held no jurisdiction beyond the bounds prescribed by the Treaty for the occupation of the Troops. To the well-informed it is unnecessary to point out the absurdity of the assertion thus put forth: but as it may have a mischievous tendency on weaker minds, it may be as well distinctly to state—that *as the territory of Natal belongs to the crown*, Her Majesty's jurisdiction cannot possibly be limited to any particular portion, but extends to every part of the country to which Her Majesty of right lays claim.

T. C. SMITH, Captain 27th Regt.,
Commandant of Natal, and J.P.

Port Natal, Oct. 24, 1842.

But if affairs moved on smoothly at Natal, a new scene of disorder and confusion was about to open on the North Eastern border of the Colony, arising out of the same cause, namely, the migration of the farmers to escape the political evils of their position within the colonial bounds.

The territory beyond the most Southern branch of the Gariep or Orange River, *originally* belonged to the Bushman, Coranna, and Bichuana tribes. About sixty years ago, a race sprung from intercourse between the colonial farmers and the Hottentots, and at that time designated as "Bastards," left the North Western end of the Colony and crossed the Gariep. The Rev. Dr. Philip, and the other anti-colonial writers, have represented this migration as the consequence of their being treated as an inferior race by their kinsmen of European blood, and being prevented from acquiring the possession of fixed property within the Colony, and that they thus sought refuge from contumely and oppression among the native tribes. This story is, however, nothing more than a gross exaggeration, or rather a gratuitous invention. Sir Andries Stockenstrom assigns a far different reason for their abandonment of the country of their birth, and *his* testimony may surely be taken when in favor of the Colonists: "neither cruelty *nor* oppression" says he, "was the real or alleged cause of the migration of the Bastards. The reason was the accumu-

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lation of their flocks," (within the Colony, be it remembered, and among the wicked Christian Boers), "and the necessity of better and more extensive pasturage. Indeed" continues he, "it is asserted that many of the Boers were on too good terms with the kraals from which the race proceeded, which owes both its name and the names of most of its families to that intimacy."*

This people, then Dutch subjects, left the Colony after having disposed of their property in the Kamies Berg by sale, —but *they* were neither pursued, termed rebels, or ordered to return,—they went on from one aggression after the other upon the aborigines, until they settled down at Klaar Water, now called Griqua Town, in a country which, to use the language of their reverend missionary guides of the London Society, "They did not find for the missionaries, but the missionaries found a country for them. This new country they did not take possession of in their own names, nor in the names of any men among them—but in the name of the London Missionary Society, and the Colonial Government sanctioned the deed."† What right the Society, whose agents are for ever exclaiming against encroachments upon the lands of aboriginal tribes, had to usurp these territories, does not very transparently appear.

In this migration they "took possession of an extent of country in diameter not less than 250 miles, formerly occupied by innumerable Bushmen kraals, which found in the immense flocks of game then covering the plains, ample resources, of which they have been deprived by their inhuman oppressors, together with their country."‡

The effect of the Missionary influence at this time, on the much lauded Bastards, or, as they began now to be denominated for decency's sake, GRIQUAS, was, according to the al-

*Stockenstrom's Report on State of Griquas, 18th Sept., 1830.

† Vide Dr. Philip's letter, in Correspondence between him and the Rev. W. Shaw.

‡ Idem.

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ready-quoted authority, rather "to retard degeneration" than "to promote civilization." On their settlement at Klaarwater they re-commenced the agricultural pursuits to which they had been accustomed with the colonial farmers, and again to listen to (if not to profit by) religious instruction—the seeds of which had been implanted by the Dutch Farmers, while they still remained within the borders.

In 1812 they were visited by the Rev. John Campbell, at which time a code of sage enactments was drawn up by that gentleman, and the London society and religious public in England were imposed upon into such a belief of their extraordinary progress in civilization, that they actually went to the expence and trouble of a coinage of a silver and copper currency for them, at a time when they had not the smallest idea of the nature or use of a metallic standard of values, and when their dealings with the colony did not amount to fifty pounds sterling in a year. To add to the absurdities of this philanthropic charlatanerie, the money was of *English designation*, while even the colonists themselves knew no other than that of *Holland*—of *English superscription*, when the *only* language used by the Griguas, and taught by their missionaries, was *Dutch*—one side stating its value, and the obverse the words, "Griqua Town," and the representation of a dove bearing an olive branch in its beak. The dove of peace soon flew away, and the money disappeared along with her, one farthing of which never entered into circulation. With respect to the laws themselves, they are only to be found in the Rev. gentleman's own first and famous volumes of Travels.

It is beyond the scope of this pamphlet to give a history of the "Griqua nation," the materials of which the compiler has at hand for use if ever required, but passing over the various occurrences in its annals from the time of its establishment at Griqua Town or Klaarwater, I shall take these people up again in 1823, when the Rev. John Campbell took upon himself to mark out the boundary line of the nation between them and the neighbouring tribes on their *east*, which

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may be briefly defined by drawing a line on Arrowsmith's map, from Salt Pan station, on the Orange River, to the confluence of the Hart with the northern branch of the same stream or Ky-Gariep.

This circumscribed line of boundary was not destined to be of long duration by such a people. In 1827 the Griqua Captain Kok seized the country for ninety miles beyond the former boundary of Campbell, and shewed a title to it from the Rev. Dr. Philip,* fixing the seat of his government at a Bushman Missionary Station, established by the Rev. Mr. Faure, a colonial clergyman, and through the subscriptions of the Colonial Dutch Farmers (those wholesale murderers and oppressors of the Bushmen, as it has been the fashion to make them appear), and which place or seat of government was *enobled* by the name of PHILIPOLIS.

The consequence of this aggression by the Rev. Dr. Philip's protegés, is described by the pen of Sir Andries Stockenstrom:

> "It was hoped that the Griquas would protect the Bushmen of this station, but soon after their settlement there not one was found; they were hunted down, and shot like wild beasts, not by the seceding tribe of the Griquas, the Bergenaars, but by Kok's people, and their lands and springs were seized by the Griquas. In 1828 they destroyed two opulent but weak tribes of Bechuanas, under Gassapan and Matzatane—stole the cattle—murdered the people, and drove them to actual cannibalism. In 1830 it was proved before Mr. Melvill that these same Griquas massacred two strong Bushmen kraals with inhumanity never before paralleled!!!"

Into this country then, which had so rudely been snatched from the Aboriginal Inhabitants, who, it seems, were ruthlessly swept away before the friends of Dr. Philip, the colonial Farmers proceeded in search of pasturage for their cattle, as their flocks were daily diminishing from the excessive and periodical droughts† common to the northern boundary of the Colony. This migration upon lands quite as fairly the property of the Colonial Boers as that of the Griquas, and indeed

* Vide Captain Stockenstrom's evidence before Aborigines Committee and Dr. Philip's admission in his own letter.

† Vide Mr. Boshoff's letter at page 31, part 2.

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claimed as having been purchased by the former from the Bushmen, was represented as a flight from the Colony, for the purpose of dispossessing the Griquas of their estates, and to evade the Government measure for the emancipation of the slaves. The latter charge has already been dealt with and refuted, and the former is thus rebutted by the intelligent traveller, Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, who passed through this very territory in the year 1834:—

"As regards the other charge, instead of the boers oppressing the Griquas, or Bastaards, their arrival in the country of the latter is hailed by the generality of these people, as an event fraught with good fortune to them; for having large places, and little or no cattle to graze there, as "they plough not neither do they sow," they take care to make the Boers pay a good price for every privilege they enjoy the moment they cross their boundaries."

In order to understand the true nature of the troubles which at the end of the year 1842 burst out beyond its northern Frontier, it has been requisite to tax the reader's patience with the foregoing recital of the origin and state of the Griqua people up to the time to which we are now about to advert.

Previous to the great migration of 1836, sanctioned by the Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Province,* the number of Colonial Farmers settled beyond the Orange River was comparatively small, but when that extraordinary movement took place, such as did not proceed on towards the vicinity of Natal sat down amongst the Griquas, in the Territory in question, and hired from that people lands they were both able and eager to spare.†

* Vide Part 1, page 53.

† On the 25th of Februry, 1837, the pet chief of the Rev. Dr. Philip, ANDRIES WATERBOER, of Griqua Town, and ABRAHAM KOK, the chief of Philippolis, entered into a political union, when they divided between them the Territory of, and from which they had dispossessed and extirpated the aboriginal tribes, marking out the line of their respective Western and Eastern Boundaries. This was stated by the Editor of the Commercial Advertiser as *a proof of the rapid improvement of the people, under the influence of Christianity*. When Sir Benjamin D'Urban took military possession of the province of Adelaide, and brought the Kafirs into the pale of civilization and christianity, and saved them from extermination, he was assailed, by the same authority, as a demon with all the ferocity of a madman. But the one were *blacks*, and the act was praiseworthy—the other *whites*, of course then unjustifiable.

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Representations now began to be poured out upon the Government, that the boers who had settled themselves, *with the consent of the Griquas*, on their lands, and in the territory beyond, coveted the territories around them, and meditated a plan to dispossess the usurping Bastards—to force them into allegiance to their new republic, as well as to drive out the more lawful holders of the adjoining territory. What truth there was in these statements is somewhat uncertain, most likely greatly exaggerated—whether inventions of the Griquas, or the real machinations of some of the more restless farmers, is not exactly known, but at all events the Colonial Government brought up all its artillery against the Emigrants, and fired off a volley at them, in the shape of the following :—

PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, K. C. B.,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same, Commanding the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas it has been represented to me, that certain of Her Majesty's subjects, who have from time to time emigrated from this Colony, and are now remaining in certain Territories beyond the boundary and adjacent to the Orange River, have evinced a disposition to encroach upon the Possessions of certain Native Tribes, more particularly upon those belonging to Moshesh, the chief of the Basutus; the chief Maroko, of the Borolongs; the chief Lepuy, of Bethulia; Karolus Baatje, the chief of the Newlanders, at Plaatberg; and Barend Barends, chief of the Griquas, near Plaatberg; and Adam Kok, the chief of that section of the Griquas inhabiting the Philopolis District; and whereas her Majesty's Government has lately instructed me to take care that the Emigrant Farmers beyond the boundary shall be again distinctly informed of what is, and always has been, the settled policy of her Majesty's Government in reference to such encroachments, and that they be solemnly warned against engaging in any unjust proceedings of the kind :—Now, I do hereby proclaim and make known to all such Emigrants as aforesaid, and more particularly to those residing in the vicinity of the Chiefs above-mentioned, that her Majesty will regard with the liveliest indignation any attempt upon the part of

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any of her subjects, to molest, invade, or injure, any of the Native Tribes, or to take or maintain unlawful possession of any of the lands to those tribes belonging;—that, by any such attempt, the offending parties will forfeit all claim to her Majesty's protection and regard, and be held by her to have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to her will and authority, and will inevitably expose themselves to all the penal consequences which may, by force of the Act of Parliament in that case made and provided, attend upon any criminal acts which may be by them committed, as well as to those other manifestations of her Majesty's disposition to protect the Native Tribes from all invasion of their just rights, and to restrain all aggressions upon the part of her Emigrant subjects, which it may hereafter become necessary to exhibit.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand, and the Public Seal of the Settlement, at Cape Town, this 7th Day of September, 1842.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,

Acting Secretary to Government.

A far better step than this half and puerile measure, would have been the annextion of the whole Territory with the Colony at once, for the farmers, guilty or innocent, only laughed at a threat which was unsupported by physical force.*

A rumour at this time having got abroad among the farmers beyond the river, that there was an intention to raise the native tribes against them, which it was understood originated with some of the missionaries, Mocké, a Field-Cornet of the emigrants assembled a force, and made a fortification to resist the attack. The following account of this matter is thus given in the paper of the day, but to what extent the representation therein contained is true, or how much is to be deducted for exaggeration, is to this moment questionable:—

The 1st September was fixed for an attack upon the Missionary institution of Thaba Uncha. However, just at this crisis, the Field-cornets Joubert and Vand der Walt arrived with a message from the colonial Government to the boers, proposing to them conditions of peace, and tendering to them the oath of allegiance. These they rejected with scorn—refusing to sign a declaration that they were

*Before this the Griquas had become allies of the Colony, and Waterboer subsidized.

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the subjects of Great Britain. Joubert and Van der Walt, on ascertaining the cause of the alarm, and being desirous to remove it, dispatched a communication to Mr. Allison, (a Missionary) requesting him to meet them and two or three boers at the house of a farmer named W. Pretorious, near the Modder River. A similar message was also sent to Moroko, the chief of Thaba Uncha. The meeting was appointed for the 30th August. This message being sent, as was understood, by an authorized agent of the colonial government, Mr. Allison felt it his duty to comply; and accordingly he proceeded to the place appointed, accompanied by Mrs. Allison, and the native chief Moroko. On their arrival they were requested to remain till the next day, on the morning of which their lodging was surrounded by troops of armed horsemen,—men with loaded guns were stationed at the windows, and a council of boers was formed under the presidency of a schoolmaster, named Dederikse. Before this council Mr. A. and Moroko were tried. Moroko, by intimidation was made to deny having authorised the writing of certain letters, and was acquitted; but Mr. A. was informed that he was considered as guilty—he having, in fact, acknowledged a certain letter to be his, but appealing to the boers, his judges, whether the statements it contained were not perfectly true. Mr. A. was then suffered to depart to his home for the present, and until the decision of the Raad at Pietermauritzberg should be made known. On leaving, accompanied by his wife, guns loaded with ball were fired after them—the bullets ploughing up the ground before them, and one ball whistling close past Mr. A.'s head.

More stirring events than these were, however, abroad, than the above interlude afforded, which I shallgive in the words of the actors themselves. THE HONORABLE MR. JUSTICE MENZIES, the first Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of the Colony, being in the neighbourhood of the above recorded events, and hearing it was the intention of the Emigrant Farmers across the boundary to set up NATIONAL LIMITS there, and unfurl the flag of independence, with a determination of the most resolute kind, and in the face of extreme peril, for he was warned he would be shot if he crossed the Orange River, he courageously faced the danger, and forestalled them by at once annexing the Territory to the Colonial Empire:—

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE HON. MR. JUSTICE MENZIES.

In consequence of intelligence having been received in Colesberg that a number of boers, amounting to about 600, intended to assemble on the 24th October, at Alleman's Drift, on the eastern bank of the Orange River, for the purpose of erecting a beacon, and declaring the territory from thence to Port Natal the property of the Volksraad and the Emigrant boers; and further information having been received from Missionary Stations, stating it to be the intention of an assembled body of 300 armed men to attack and take possession of every station, and to drive from that side of the river every one that would not sign an oath of allegiance to the Volksraad of Port Natal; it was considered advisable to adopt measures for the immediate suppression of the intended outrage on the part of the Dutch farmers. The Hon. Justice Menzies having arrived here on the 16th ultimo, on hearing the facts of the case, took upon himself the task and responsibility of using every effort to counteract their intentions; and accordingly he proceeded to G. Joubert's, Field-cornet, on the 21st, for the purpose of obtaining information. From thence, the next day, he proceeded across the Orange River, at Alleman's Drift, accompanied by Captain Wilmot and others, and directed a pole to be planted in the ground, to which was nailed a board, with the inscription, "Baken van de Koningin van Engeland." He then addressed the assembly, reading to them the Governor's proclamation, dated 2d October, 1842, respecting the emigrant boers, and further that of a later date respecting the lands and property of the native chiefs, Moseah, and Adam Kok, dated ———.

He then said, "I have heard that some of you expect to receive help from the King of Holland; this appears to have arisen from some statements made to you by that man, Smellekamp, who, in order to dispose of his goods, probably told you that which is false. Do you know that Smellekamp was arrested on his road to the Cape, and that on examination by the Attorney-General, he then positively denied having said anything to you about help from the King of Holland, or that he had been sent to you as the representative of that monarch? I will now read to you the examination of Smellekamp before the Attorney-General. (Having read the same he further proceeded to say)—"Now you have heard the examination read, do you think that Smellekamp has sworn falsely, or that he has merely told you lies? do you know anything of the King of Holland? The King of Holland is a good man—he was educated in England, was an officer in the British service, and served on the Peninsula; he was the first who bound up the wounds of Sir George Napier. England, during the last war, took the Cape as well as Batavia and Java, which, however, were returned in 1806,

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with a sum equal to £300,000, in payment of the cession of the Cape of Good Hope, to the crown of England. All those who have been born since 1806 are British subjects, and cannot throw off their allegiance, although they remove to any other kingdom or state, and the Queen of England will not allow her subjects to form into bodies having their own Government. England has now 150,000 soldiers, and do you think that she will quietly look on and see her officers and soldiers murdered, and her ships pirated at Port Natal? No, the people and the parliament of England will not suffer it; England will put forth her power to punish all such as the robbers of the *Mazeppa*. Of course I do not refer to those to whom the Governor has granted a free pardon. Batavia and Java are fine colonies; do you think the King of Holland would sacrifice them for Port Natal, which he would most certainly do if he were to attempt to assist you? but the King of Holland knows the power of England, and is bound to her in treaty of alliance. You are British subjects, and cannot fly from your allegiance, and should you fly to another nation, you will be subject to their laws as well as to those of England."

Captain Wilmot now advanced with the Union Jack, which the Honorable Justice Menzies planted close to the beacon, exclaiming at the same time, "GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!" on which all present took off their hats and repeated the same.

Mr. Justice Menzies then read the following proclamation:—

"The Honorable William Menzies, First Puisne Judge of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, do hereby declare that I have this day, in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty VICTORIA, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, taken possession of all that track of country in Southern Africa, lying between the 22° east longitude, and the 25° south latitude, as a possession of the British Crown, not being, however, under the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal, or occupied by Portuguese subjects, or in the possession of any native tribes, or under the dominion of any aboriginal chief or ruler —more particularly of such portion of the aforenamed country, as now is the property or in the possession of any subjects of the British Crown, and who have removed to the said lands from this colony, or any other British possession, to be under the jurisdiction and authority of Her said Majesty, Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, wholly and for ever, or for such time as it may please Her said Majesty, her heirs and successors, to hold and to have the same with right of sovereignty.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

In witness whereof I have this day planted the British flag, and caused a landmark to be erected at Alleman's Drift, over the Great or Orange River, in the Territory of the Griqua Captain Adam

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Kok, and in witness of all which I have hereto set my hand and seal, in presence of the witnesses who have subscribed hereunto.
22d October, 1842.

(Signed) W. MENZIES,
First Puisne Judge of the Colony of the
Cape of GoodHope.

WITNESSES:
(Signed) F. Rawstone,
F. Eardly Wilmot, Captain, Royal Artillery,
Kaptyn Adam Kok,
Nic. F. van der Waldt, Field-cornet,
C. J. Visser, Field-cornet,
G. D. Joubert, Field-cornet,
C. J. du Plessis, Field-cornet.

After which he desired every one present to take the oath of allegiance, which was given as follows—

I promise and swear that I will be truly faithful and obedient to Her Majesty the Queen Victoria—

(Signed) J. van der Waldt, Field-commandant,
C. Visser, Field-cornet,
G. D. Joubert, ditto,
J. W. Joubert, Son of ditto,
A. J. Renaar, Boer,
G. D. Joubert, Son of Field-cornet,
R. A. Visser, Son of ditto
A. Coetzee, a Youth,
J. G. Strous, Boer,
A. Comack, Scotchman,
Jan Viljoen, Boer,
C. Jan Visser, Son of Field-cornet,
H. Vanswager, from Cape District,
P. J. Viljoen. Boer,
S. Viljoen, Boer,
H. J. Joubert, Son of Field-cornet,
M. Oosthuisen, from Cape District,
J. Naude, Boer.

A very respectable boer made an objection to signing the oath, in consequence, as he said, that Mocke would drive him from that side of the River if he signed it. Mr. Justice Menzies said if he would not sign, he would take down his name, and that he would then be known. The intention of the man was only to know to what place he and his friends were to rendezvous if driven across the river with their cattle and sheep, it being well known that all the farms on the west side of the Orange River are occupied, and that no assistance would be rendered to any refugee from the eastern

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side. The poor fellow, however, signed his name, and I think Mr. Menzies was satisfied his objection did not arise from disaffection to the British Government.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

On Monday morning, the 24th ultimo, at about 8 o'clock, the honorable Mr. Justice Menzies again crossed the Orange River at Allemans Drift, and having dispatched two persons to ascertain the number of Boers approaching in a hostile manner, he took his station on the foot of a wagon with our Dutch clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Reid. Shortly after the Boers were seen appearing. There were 270 men, mounted and armed, with 16 wagons and 70 men, so that calculating the number that arrived the previous night and during the early part of the morning at 60, there were in all 400 men, and which, I think, comes rather short of the total number. I have since discovered also that there were 200 men left in the reserve. The person sent to reconnoitre returned, making report that they had discovered several small parties of Boers and desired them to advance, but without the least exception they all refused to do so till they had seen what Mocke (the ringleader of the Boers) intended doing. They said the Bastards will probably attack us—and asked if the Judge's party were armed. They were told that Mr. Justice Menzies, and those with him, had come to make peace and not war, and that if they, the pretended friends to government, were faithful to their allegiance there was no doubt that the government would defend them, and their property would be safe. They had, however, no confidence in what was told them, and said, " we shall see." Mocke's party now began to approach, and never did any one see such a rabble.

They approached three abreast, and their gun barrels having been previously brightened and cleaned, at a short distance from the Drift, the sun shining on them gave them rather an imposing effect.

They had all now assembled at a small distance from the spot on which Judge Menzies had placed himself; and Mocke having been requested by the clergyman to come forward, approached, accompanied by one Diederikse. The few that came unarmed to hear what his Lordship had to say, left their arms with others at a short distance, and kept a watch on all around them. Threats were plainly made use of on their discovering that the English were without arms, and had no power to resist.

His Lordship said, " we come here unarmed to tell you of the liability you incur by the steps you are now taking. It is in your power to use violence if you think proper. But I trust you will be patient and listen attentively to what I am about to say to you.

His Lordship—" We will commence this meeting by offering up

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a prayer to Almighty God that he may induce us to listen with attention and dispose our minds to peace. The Rev. Mr. Reid, who is here, will now address you." The Rev. gentleman then delivered a long prayer, after which his Lordship again proceeded to say that he hoped those who came would not bring their guns with them; but come and listen attentively to what he would say to them, and that he wished to dissuade them from committing any violence.

Diederikse—We are here in the name of the Republic; we are not British subjects, but we do not wish to use violence against any one.

Mr. Justice Menzies,—Then I understand that you have thrown off your allegiance to England and formed under the Natal Republic. Such a proceeding is punishable by the law of nations and by the most severe penalty, that of Death. You may say you are not British subjects, that you are no longer in the colony, then I have to tell you there is a law made by the late King and Parliament, which extends all over the colony, and out of it to the 25th degree of latitude, to which all Her Majesty's subjects are amenable. (Read Act 16th August, 1830. for the prevention of crime committed beyond the boundary). By this act, said his Lordship, Mr. Rawstone as a special Magistrate, and he as a judge, would punish offences committed beyond the boundary, in the same manner as though committed within the colony. His Lordship continued—"In 1806 the colony was taken by the English, and was afterwards made over by the King of Holland with all his subjects. Thus you became British subjects and you owe your allegiance to Britain, and this allegiance will stick to you as long as you live: you cannot throw it off: you may swear allegiance to the King of Holland, or any other Kingdom or Republic, and if you think the Queen of England cannot enforce the punishment due for throwing off your allegiance because you have been led to believe the King of Holland will assist you to resist her authority, then listen to me. Do you know that the late King of Holland was driven from his throne by a Foreign Power, and that he was re-established by the power of Britain? do you know that the present King of Holland was educated in England and served in the English army? Smellekamp has told you that Holland will assist you, do you know he was examined in Cape Town, and which examination I will now read to you?" (His Lordship here read Smellekamp's examination.)

Are you now satisfied that he was not sent by the King of Holland? (Several boers here called out, "give him to us that we may punish him.")

Mr. Justice Menzies—I wish I had him to give you.

Mocké—You say too much; our trust is in Providence; England cannot hurt us, although we are but a fly.

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Mr. Justice Menzies—You cannot form yourselves into an independent power, England will not permit it.

Diederikse—Have you not heard from England respecting our affairs?

Mr. Justice Menzies.—There has not been time enough yet. When England hears what you have done and proclaims it to her Parliament and people, the story will act like fire; when they hear that you have insulted her flag, and that after making a treaty with Colonel Cloete, declaring yourselves British subjects, you again resist her laws—do you think she will quietly look on? England has now 150,000 soldiers at her command.

Diederikse—We know all this, and we wish only to find out who are our friends and who are our enemies—who are traitors to our cause.

Mr. Justice Menzies—Why then this armed force?

Diederikse—We are on this side of the river. We know the boundary of the Colony is on the other side of the Orange River only.

Mr. Justice Menzies—Great Britain will enforce her laws in and out of the Colony; sooner or later you must suffer.

Diederikse—Well, let Great Britain punish us; if we are not strong enough we must suffer. There is a truce between us and England for six months.

Mr. Justice Menzies—That is not true, there is the treaty signed by the Raad and Col. Cloete.

Diederikse—Only by one half.

Mr. Justice Menzies—But you see the heads Pretorius, Boshof and Prinslo have signed it, and, as far as I know, England will not give you Port Natal. England will not allow herself to be insulted and her vessels pirated.

Diederikse—We want nothing—we fear nothing. Pray, Sir, if the Bastards were to attack us—

Mr. Justice Menzies—Do you intend to attack any nation? Moroco and Mosesh will not attack you except you attack them.

Diederikse—We do not intend it; we want no law; (all the people at the same time exclaimed No! No! No!)

Mr. Justice Menzies—You will make a fine Republic without law, and have no command on your people.

The remainder is a mere repetition of what has been said before, only that his Lordship said, that should the government assume authority over the country between that and Natal, they would most probably be permitted to choose their own magistrates. The meeting having now concluded, and nothing having been done satisfactory in consequence of want of force on the side of government, although I have no doubt that two troops of cavalry would have settled the question of allegiance sooner than all his Lordship's good advice. To do his Lordship credit, he behaved in a most calm

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though determined manner, having more the character of a bold but wary soldier than the legal precision of a Judge. A word out of place, or any irritable conduct, would have brought the whole swarm on us, and not one could have escaped, as murmers were afloat that the Cape Corps were in the neighbourhood, and that the English only wanted to entrap them.

After the Judge's party had crossed the river, the Boers commenced erecting a land mark, on which I have since discovered was written "Peace between this and Natal—this land mark is erected with the intention of declaring this land our property, and not to take from nor injure any native tribe." The Boers after having discharged several rounds from their guns, began to ride off. They again assembled the next day at Drie Kuil, and sent for Adam Kok who refused to attend them.

The proceedings of Mr. Justice Menzies were on all hands admitted to be *extraordinary*. It was evident he had used "*a vigor beyond the law*," and his conduct was in more places than one assailed with some warmth. It must, however, be observed that this act was not done by him in his judicial capacity, but in that of a private citizen, who, apprehending extreme mischief, used the best means in his belief to avert it: and he was right. The territory had been already declared within the province of an act of parliament, however inefficacious its provisions, and by his spirited conduct Mr. Menzies for a time arrested the proceedings of the evil disposed who had assembled to set up the symbols of independence.

His Excellency Sir Geo. Napier thought differently from Mr. Justice Menzies, and at once injudiciously disavowed the whole of his proceedings as contrary to Her Majesty's instructions, which he ought to have kept to himself—thus encouraging the contumacy and disaffection of the emigrant farmers, who nevertheless he still affected to consider subjects, although he could not bring them back into the pale of the Colony, and would not extend the power of his country over that on which they had established themselves; he therefore instead of wisely waiting further instructions from home, hourly expected, let out the *fatal* secret, that this act of possession was at variance with the wishes of his Sovereign.

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PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, K.C.B.,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas it has this day been reported to me, that on the 22d day of October last, and at or near Alleman's Drift, on the Orange River, a certain Instrument in the following terms, was promulgated by the Hon. Mr. Justice Menzies, viz:—

"I, William Menzies, Esq., First Puisne Judge of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, do hereby declare, that in the name and on the behalf of Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, I have on this day taken possession, as belonging to the British Crown, and as part of the Dominions of Her said Majesty Queen Victoria, of all the Territory in South Africa, lying to the Eastward of the 22d (Twenty-second) degree of East longitude, and to the Southward of the 25th (Twenty-fifth) degree of South latitude, not being part of the Dominions of Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal, or in the lawful possession or occupation of Portuguese subjects, or in the lawful possession or occupation of any Native Tribe, or of any Native Chief or Ruler, more particularly and especially of all such portions of the said Territory as are now in the possession or occupation of any Subjects of the British Crown, who have emigrated thereunto from this Colony, or from any other of the British Dominions, to be under the Dominion and Sovereignty of Her said Majesty Queen Victoria, Her Heirs and Successors, wholly and for ever, or to such extent and for such time as it shall be the pleasure of Her said Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, to retain and have possession of, and Dominion and Sovereignty over, the same.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

In token whereof I have this day planted the British Ensign, and caused a Beacon to be erected at Alleman's Drift."

And whereas the said Instrument has been issued, and possession purported to be thereby taken of certain Territories therein mentioned, without my authority, *and without the authority of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor* of the Eastern Districts of this Colony; and whereas the taking possession of the said Territories, in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, would be a proceeding *at variance with the Instruction of Her Majesty's Government*, and one which I do not feel myself warranted to authorise or adopt:—

NOW, THEREFORE, I DO HEREBY PROCLAIM AND DECLARE, that the said Instrument so issued as aforesaid, and all Acts attendant thereupon, so far as regards the taking possession in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen,

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of any of the Territories in the said Instrument mentioned, are not, nor are any of them, to be taken or considered as being the Acts of Government, or as being adopted by me, or as altering or affecting the relations previously subsisting between Her Most Gracious Majesty and such of Her Subjects as are now resident beyond the Colonial Boundary, or between Her Majesty and any of the Native Tribes or Rulers inhabiting any of the said Territories.

And whereas it is expedient to guard against any misapprehension of the true intent and meaning hereof:—I hereby solemnly warn all her Majesty's subjects resident beyond the colonial boundary, that the allegiance which they owe to the British Crown is not dependant upon their residence within her Majesty's Dominions, but is, according to the Laws of the British Empire, an obligation which it is not in their power to disclaim or violate with impunity, and that any treasonable or seditious attempts, or conspiracies against Her Majesty's Royal Authority, must ultimately be attended with the most disastrous consequences to all Persons so offending.

And I further warn all such Subjects as aforesaid, against all invasions of, or aggressions upon, the Territories or Persons of any Native Tribes or Rulers.—And in order more fully to impress all parties concerned, with the determination of Her Majesty's Government to discountenance to the uttermost, all such unjust invasions or aggressions, I have caused to be subjoined hereunto a copy of my Proclamation of the 7th day of September last, including certain additions made thereto on the recommendation of His Honor the Lieut. Governor.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my hand and the public Seal of the Settlement, at Cape Town, this 3d day of November. 1842.

(Signed) GEORGE NAPIER.

By Command of his Excellency the Governor:

(Signed) J. MOORE CRAIG,

Acting Secretary to Government.

The excitement created among the Farmers on the north of the Orange River or Gariep was anything but appeased by these singular and contradictory proceedings, and it at length reached a point to induce the Lt.-Governor to march a considerable force of Foot, Horse, and Artillery, to Colesberg, a colonial town in the neighbourhood of the disturbances. The alleged purpose of this Expedition was to stifle any spirit of disaffection which might manifest itself within the border—to intimidate the Emigrants beyond, and in its vicinage, and

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even should occasion require it, the marching of troops into the Trans-Gariepine country itself, now equally laid claim to by the Griquas and Emigrants.

Previous to removing the forces from the exposed Eastern Frontier, His Honor, it is said, had an interview with *Macomo*, the Kafir chief, whom he engaged to protect that harassed line. This act of generous confidence—there is the authority of the resident missionaries to say—was *appropriately* repaid by the formation of an extensive conspiracy among the other chiefs to invade the colony during the absence of the troops, to which they were incited by a rumour of some disaster having met those *en route* to Colesberg, as well as by the diminished force now opposed to them.

The force thus despatched to the north consisted of nearly 1,000 men, who, after a tedious and protracted march at the very worst season of the year which could possibly be chosen for the expedition, reached Colesberg at the end of the month of December, and upon the 31st a conference was held, of which the following are the official particulars :—

Minutes of a private conference between His Honor Colonel Hare, C.B , K.H., Lieutenant Governor, Eastern Province, Cape of Good Hope, and the Griqua Chief Adam Kok, (attended by his Secretary Hendrik Hendriks, and one Heemraden), and the Emigrant Farmer, Field-cornet Oberholster, of Riet River, (attended by two other farmers). Also present, Lieut. Hare, Aide-de-camp—Lieut. Jervis, R.E., Acting Brigade Major—Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General Smith—F. Rawstorne, Esq., Civil Commissioner of Colesberg—and the Rev. Peter Wright, of Philipolis, Missionary of the Griqua chief.

Place of Meeting—Magistrate's Office, Colesberg—time—4 p.m., on Saturday, the 31st December, 1842.

His Honor—This meeting is held according to the request of Mr. Oberholster, as made at the public meeting this morning.

Mr. Oberholster—Your Honor having a full knowledge of the matter of discontent amongst the Emigrant Farmers, across the Orange River, and of their late movements. I wish to make your Honor fully acquainted therewith, and therefore have I sought this meeting; but not being able to explain myself with ease, I have asked Mr. Oortlip to state the circumstances to you.

Mr. Oortlip, (who is a German, and connected with the German Missionary institution at Bethany, in Griqualand)—The first cause

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of the Boers becoming openly disaffected towards the English Government, was from the conceit they conceived of their own power, after they had, as they said, conquered Captain Smith's party at Natal. This did not last long, when they saw that the English troops had beaten the boers at Natal. The farmers there then charged the Boers in the Riet and Modder Rivers of being the cause of their defeat, in not going to help them;—all manner of exaggerated reports were circulated among them—that Colonel Cloete sought the peace—that it was only to last six months—that Smellekamp would bring troops from Holland to assist them, therefore they (the farmers of the Riet and Modder Rivers) must be in readiness to help them when the six months truce was up—that Moeke would not allow any man to remain in that land who was not on his side.

Some time ago Moeke assembled a commando of about 400 men—repeated all these circumstances to them—told them they must fight for their brethren at Natal, for the English Government had made servants of them—had compelled them to give their oxen to Government for 20 Rds. (£1 10s.) per head.

From time to time many reports were spread through the people, all tending to bring discredit on the British Government. Moeke again called his people together—said there was no law among the Griquas, he would put up his land-mark at Alleman's Drift on the Orange River, and take the government of the country to himself and the farmers—that the Griquas might enjoy all the lands now used by them, but under the authority of Moeke.

When Moeke was going to do this, he was met at Allman's Drift by Judge Menzies, who warned him of the consequences, pointed out to the farmers their folly—the evil they would bring upon themselves by such an act. *Through the influence of Judge Menzies' arguments the commando returned without putting up the beacon; they were much crest-fallen and divided in sentiments among themselves.* Since that time they have been talking some one thing, then another, most agreeing to wait and see what would take place when the six months truce given to Colonel Cloete had expired.

Lately a commando assembled near Philipolis, under the impression that the Griquas were going to fall upon the boers. This commando was not called out by Moeke, but it was dispersed through his persuasions.

When I came through the Griqua country the other day, I saw a camp of about 200 men still in arms, and ready for command; the keeping together of this body of armed men was a subject of much annoyance to the farmers.

I have often heard the farmers complain that the colonial government allowed the Griquas, who had, like themselves, also emigrated from the colony, to have their own Government, and yet

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it would not permit the same to the farmers, who they say, have an equal claim to that part of the country with the Griquas. This circumstance is a constant source of irrritation to the farmers, and is a point they cannot understand, they also say that the country they now occupy formerly belonged to the Bushmen, and not to the Griquas.

Field-cornet Oberholster—I have often told my people they must adhere to the Government, and not follow Moeke. The greater part do so, but some, I am sorry to say, go with Moeke—they are half frightened, half persuaded—evil men tell such lies to them. They say the English government has so many wars, in India and China, that it has not time to attend to, nor power to interfere with the Farmers. When we first went over the Orange River, we agreed with Adam Kok for our places, and we have generally lived in peace with the Griquas.

Hendrik Hendriks, Secretary to the Griqua Chief—That is true, the agreement for the boers places was made between Field-cornet Oberholster and Captain Kok. When the great trek (emigration) commenced in 1836, when men were angry and said so much against the British Government, we made a law, that no boer should sit with us who was not a British subject. If they did not continue true to the colony, their bargains for our lands would be broken.

His Honor—Under these circumstances the Farmers, who have joined Moeke, and rebelled against the Government, *have certainly forfeited their leases to the lands rented from the Griquas, and that people have a just right to resume them,* but as I am satisfied many of the farmers who have gone over to Moeke have done so against their better judgment, and as I have no doubt I shall be able to extend pardon to most of them, but not to all, I have, as a personal request, to ask that Captain Kok will permit such farmers to whom I grant forgiveness, to resume their hired lands, without forfeiture of their leases. *I am well aware that* THE SOLE CAUSE *of the emigration of the Farmers, arose from the emancipation of their slaves.* However, this circumstance might be one which annoyed the farmers, it was one which was inevitable ; it was quite absurd to suppose, that a nation like England, which had for so many years made such efforts to put down slavery, not only in her own possessions, but with all nations in the world with which she had any influence, should permit a few farmers in this colony to oppose her wishes, and trample on the rights of their fellow creatures.

The present disposition and feeling of the emigrant farmers I am well aware has arisen through ignorance, and greatly to their listening to the few lawless, reckless, and unprincipled men who are amongst them, who themselves having nothing to lose, are trying to create an importance to their character, by spreading misrepresenta-

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tions of their own lawful government, and unfortunately they have, to a certain extent, gained their ends; but the day has arrived when it must cease; and as to any of the farmers thinking for a moment to establish an independent government among themselves, it is quite absurd. The Natal Republic, or anything like it on this border, I am determined to strangle and utterly destroy.

As long as the Emigrant Farmers over the river hold their allegiance to the Queen, and are obedient to the established authorities of the colony, and also respect the rights of the native chiefs, in whose territories they reside, or from whom they may rent lands, I have no wish to disturb them.

With regard to the mistaken notion of the Emigrants respecting the privilege of self-government, which they say has been allowed by the Colony to the Griquas, and yet withheld from them,—the ancestors of Adam Kok and his people *were the original possessors of the soil, and surely they have an undoubted right to govern themselves in their own lands.* Besides, whatever changes may have taken place in former years among the aborigines of this part of Africa, Adam Kok is now an independent chief, and proprietor of the territory he now occupies, and he being an ally of Great Britain the farmers are bound to respect him as such, and they must do so.

Hendrik Hendriks—The Farmers say the Griquas now occupy the Bushmen's land, who was it that drove us there? Let the names Kaapstad, Stellenbosch Tulbagh, give the answer; it was the *Dutch* people who sent us forward;* it was not until late years —until the English name of Colesberg was heard in the land, that the Griquas had rest. It was the English who made the Hottentot force. It was not until England put her hand on the land, there was any resting place for the Griquas, and *never, never, will there be security for the Griquas, and the black nations of Africa, until England continues to hold her hand over the whole country.*

Adam Kok, Griqua chief—The farmers complain of the Griqua camp which Oortlip saw the other day; that may be true, but what harm have they done to the farmers—none—why is the camp there? Moeke *talks* to us of peace, but what does he do? He still keeps as his Field-cornets, Erasmus and others, who are our greatest enemies—men who have threatened to take away our lives and our lands. Whilst Moeke talks of peace, and keeps my enemies as his officers, I cannot trust them, I must be on my guard.

His Honor—Adam Kok, I applaud your prudence, you are right to defend your property against all lawless men, and as long

* This, as has already been seen, is untrue. Sir Andries Stockenstrom's account of the origin of this people, and the reasons of their migration, gives a better answer than the name of Kapstad, &c.

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as you are not the aggressor, I will help you; I have an army here and shall protect you: I will go to your land, see that you possess your rights, and when I go away I will leave a force here, sufficient to protect the innocent and punish the guilty.

The conference now closed.

The above minutes were made by me, at the desire of the Lieut. Governor, this 31st December, 1842.

(Signed) JOHN J. SMITH,
Dep.-Asst.-Com.-General.

A.D. 1843.

The consequence of this conference was the promulgation by His Honor the Lieut.-Governor of the following declaration:—

Declaration of His Honor the Lieut.-Governor to the Emigrant Farmers, 1st Jan., 1843:—

"A proclamation has been recently issued by His Excellency the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, making known to certain of her Majesty's subjects who have from time to time emigrated from the colony, and are now remaining beyond the boundary, on or adjacent to the lands of the native tribes, that Her Majesty will regard with the liveliest indignation any attempt upon the part of her subjects to molest, invade, or injure any of the native tribes, or to take or maintain unlawful possession of any of the lands belonging to those tribes; and the emigrant farmers have been informed in the aforesaid proclamation of his Excellency the Governor, that by any such attempt to molest or invade those tribes, the offending parties will forfeit all claim to her Majesty's protection and regard, and be held by her to have placed themselves in an attitude of resistance to her will and authority.

Notwithstanding the solemn warning against engaging in any unjust proceedings, and this manifestation of her Majesty's determination to protect the native tribes from all invasion of their just rights, and to restain all aggression on the part of her emigrant subjects, information has been received by government that a body of emigrant farmers, chiefly, if not wholly composed of those who, at Alleman's Drift, had some time previous renounced their allegiance to her Majesty, had recently assembled near Philipolis, with the apparent intention of attacking and destroying the chief Adam Kok and his people—had actually seized upon and forcibly possessed themselves of a quantity of fire arms, the property of Griqua subjects, and had in a most wanton, cruel, and insulting manner devastated their fields of corn when ripe.

The clearest proof has been received that this recent attack upon the Griqua nation was wholly unprovoked, that the chief Adam

Kok had never entertained a thought of molesting or injuring the farmers. The attack therefore which was meditated upon that peaceable and harmless people could only have for its object the extermination of that tribe, and the possession by the invaders of that territory.

Such unjust and lawless proceedings on the part of her Majesty's subjects have imperatively called for the instant interference of the government; and the Lieutenant Governor has come himself to the northern border with a large force of her Majesty's troops, with a firm determination of putting a period to the lawless state of society existing beyond the boundary, and to the constant disorders created by those of the emigrants who have withdrawn themselves from their allegiance to their lawful government, by enforcing unconditional submission to the government and the laws from every British subject beyond the boundary.

The Lt. Governor wishes this his declaration to be made known to all, that he will not be diverted from the above object by any consideration of time or of expence, or of the number of troops required to produce such results, viz. to a happy return of every emigrant farmer to his allegiance, and to peace and to good order, having on these points the full assurance of support from her Majesty's ministers.

In declaring his determination of enforcing unqualified submission to her Majesty's Government, the Lieutenant-Governor wishes it at the same time to be understood by all, that measures of force and coercion will not be resorted to whilst a hope remains of the voluntary return of the misguided and disobedient to their duty; that in case of such voluntary return, and of a full and satisfactory renunciation of their error, to which he hereby invites every misguided or erring emigrant, His Honor declares himself ready to grant a full and free forgiveness of the past.

If, on the contrary, there should unfortunately be any so reckless or so ill advised as to persist in opposing themselves to their lawful government, towards such it will be his painful duty to act with the utmost severity of the law—they will have acted the part of rebels, and doubly warned must expect to suffer accordingly.

In the offer of a free pardon above expressed, the Lieut.-Governor cannot, however, include those individuals who have placed themselves at the head of the late movements, and have been principal instruments in misleading so many from their allegiance; of the crimes of such farmers he will cause cognizance to be taken by the offended laws of the country, and to whose judgment they will have to submit.

On the 2d of January another conference was held.—

Substance of a conference held at Colesberg on the 2d January,

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1843, between the Lieut.-Governor and Adam Kok, and the Rev. P. Wright:—

Adam Kok complained, on behalf of himself and people, that the emigrant farmers had planted their beacon with an armed force within their territory; that they had a second time called out this armed force; that his people were so exasperated that he had only succeeded, though with difficulty, in keeping them quiet, by promising to lay their case before the government. They did not wish that the Boers should be severely punished, but in consequence of their faithless conduct, and occasioning them the loss of the whole of their harvest, and many of their cattle, they demanded their removal from their territory. They had done all they could to assist the boers in all their difficulties, having first allowed them free grazing in their territories, and then let them their farms on condition of their being British subjects, but that they had now thrown off their allegiance and had molested the Griquas, and had therefore forfeited their agreement. They saw no prospect of agreement with the boers, who, by their presence impede the measures of the Griqua government. The ejection of the boers was the only measure that would give satisfaction to the Griquas, they would willingly in that case overlook their losses by the boers, in whom they have no confidence. They fear a repetition of acts of aggression, should Col. Hare withdraw the troops from that frontier.

The Lieut.-Governor said, if the provisions of a contract were violated by one party the other might put an end to it, and enquired to what farmers the chief alluded? Kok replied to those who had taken up arms against them.

The Lieut.-Governor, after referring to a copy of the contract in question, with a list of names annexed, found in the Civil Commissioner's Office, said it did not appear to be valid only so long as the boers maintained their allegiance to the British government. Col. Hare added that the contract was their own act and deed, not made at the request, or even with the knowledge of government; had it been otherwise,—had the government requested Adam Kok to admit the boers to such a treaty, it would then have been their duty also to interfere and eject all who failed in any condition; that it appeared from that contract, and the list appended thereto, that many of the farmers had hired and even bought farms from the Griquas, paying considerable sums for them, and that so long as such conducted themselves peaceably it would be unreasonable to eject them.

Adam Kok said the laws of his government prohibited the sale of any lands to farmers, and he was not aware of such sales having been effected, which were unlawful and invalid.

The Lieut.-Governor observed that at all events several persons had hired lands, to whom his previous remarks would apply, and whose contracts could not be annulled without sufficient cause.

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The Rev. Mr. Wright said the list ought to be received with some caution, as Mr. Oberholster, who had framed and delivered it, had admitted to him that it was inaccurate.

The Lieut.-Governor then referred such objections to the decision of their own courts, and the utmost care was recommended for the future in the registry of such agreements.

Hendrik said they had lost all confidence in the boers and that the message of peace lately sent to them by the government, through the Field cornets Joubert and Van der Wald, had been fruitless.

The Lieut.-Governor said the government had now taken measures to remove all uneasiness for the future, and recommended the Griquas at all times to act with forbearance and prudence, and to follow the advice of their missionary or the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, with whom he would leave a sufficient force to enforce any government measure.

Hendrik at some length expressed his obligations to the government, through whom it was that they were a people to that day, and had a country. They were a christian nation; they thanked God that they stood in such relation with such a christian nation as the English. Waterboer, De Puy, and Moshesh, all owed their existence to the government. The Griquas had no other refuge than the protection of government; it was their support—their life. They were viewed by the government as an independent people, and yet protected and assisted like their own subjects; nothing could repay that obligation. They had often come to Colesberg for help, and seen the Civil Commissioner struggling under the same difficulties as themselves. The speaker after saying that the boers had even proposed to carry him off to Natal to punish him for his strenuous opposition to the republic there, concluded by thanking the Lieut.-Governor on behalf of the Griqua nation, for what had been done for them.

The Lieut.-Governor said it gave him much satisfaction to hear their expression of attachment to the government. England was a great and generous nation, and never failed to help and succour the distressed. The emigrants had latterly thrown off all law and allegiance, and stood up in defiance of the laws of God and man. They had engaged in a degrading war with their fellow men; they were endeavoring to continue the traffic in human flesh, which England had sought to destroy throughout the world. He entreated them to proceed in a course of industry and religion; exhorted them to make it their care to establish schools for the education of their children, for the want of education had in a great measure reduced the Boers to their present state. Many of them were much inferior to them (the Griquas) in instruction and cultivation. He likewise exhorted them not only to endeavor to do good to their own nation, but also to the uncivilized people about them—to all who were less

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advanced in culture than themselves, and concluded by assuring them of support as long as they proved themselves worthy of it.

On the 7th of January another conference was held between the Lieut.-Governor and the inhabitants of the New Hantam, on the subject of the differences between the Farmers beyond the boundary, and the Griquas or Bastards, when it was alleged by the former that they had purchased from the aboriginal inhabitants, the Bushmen, the very lands now occupied by the Griquas, from which the Griquas now endeavored to expel them, and this statement was borne out by a number of affidavits in point.* This conference lasted a considerable time, but broke off without any satisfactory results.

After a few weeks stay upon this Frontier, in which many unexecuted threats of vengeance were fulminated, several fierce determinations expressed to march the British force over the Orange River, there to punish the disaffected and contumacious Farmers, which were not even attempted to be carried out, the camp at Colesberg was broken up on the 1st of Feb. and with the exception of a small force, left behind at that town and at Cradock, the troops marched back in triumph, having, as was somewhat prematurely stated, accomplished the objects of the Expedition!

FRONTIER ORDERS.

Colesberg, 1st Feb., 1843.

The Colonel Commanding on the Frontier cannot allow the division of the troops formed under Lt.-Col. Johnstone to break up from their camp and cantonments at Colesberg, without expressing his high sense of the valuable assistance afforded him by Lt.-Col, Johnstone, as well as by the other Officers in command of detachments, in forwarding the service on which the troops have been employed in these districts. The colonel commanding wishes to convey in an especial manner to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers his admiration of the excellent spirit which they have shewn throughout, and his high approbation of the perfect good order and discipline which have marked their progress through the country, during their long and fatiguing march, and it will afford the colonel commanding great satisfaction in making his report to the Commander in Chief of the state of this division of the Troops under

* Vide Affidavits in the Graham's Town Journal, 16th February, 1843.

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His Excellency's command, to state, that during his long service he has never witnessed a higher spirit or better discipline amongst British troops.

The object for which they were called upon service to these districts having been *accomplished by the return of peace and tranquility at both sides of this border*, the troops will return to their several head quarters at Graham's Town and Fort Beaufort by the routes which have been given to the Officers in command of detachments. The whole of the detachment of the 91st, and 50 of the Cape Corps remaining in Colesberg.

The Colonel commanding feels it also but justly due to the officer in charge of the Commissariat department, Dep.-Asst.-Com.-Gen. Smith, to record his expression of approbation of the very able and judicious manner in which he has conducted the duties of that department, under the many difficulties, of no ordinary nature, that have presented themselves in obtaining transport and supplies in these districts, and through which Mr. Smith has proved himself to possess considerable diligence and resource, and the Col. commanding will also feel it his duty to make a favorable report of that officer to His Excellency the Commander-in Chief.

By Order,

(Signed) WM. J. DUMMOND JERVOIS,
Lt. Royal Engineers, Acting Brigade Major.

Of the real character, as well as the results of this Expedition, the public seem soon to have arrived at a correct estimate, and that is, that it was ill-timed and ill-planned. That it tended to confirm the contumacy of the Boers, and impaired the respect due to the troops of the sovereign, when it was seen that after such an expensive and difficult march they did not (the Boers actually believed they *dared* not) cross into the country of the disaffected, but contented themselves with a mere array of warlike demonstration, and the launching forth a few paper pellets in the shape of 'Declarations.'

Besides all this the Lieut.-Governor unfortunately exhibited, in his interview of the 31st Dec., 1842, a lamentable want of information of the precise state of the quarrel between the Government and its refractory and misguided subjects, when* he volunteered the assertion that 'the Griquas were the original possessors of the soil," and that "the *sole* cause of the emigration of the farmers arose from the emancipation of their slaves." These representations were positively injurious

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to his cause, as they evinced either a melancholy state of ignorance, or what was much worse, an attempt at misrepresentation, which would eagerly be taken advantage of by men in the position in which the Farmers were then placed.

During these transactions on the north, quiet seems to have reigned at the original focus of disturbance, Port Natal, and except the excitement produced by a rumour taken to that place by the 'Louisa,' schooner, in the month of May, of the probable appointment of Sir Andries Stockenstrom as the future Governor of the settlement, all appeared tranquil and serene. This announcement, however, seems to have caused a universal burst of indignation, the inhabitants declaring he might govern the country, but never should govern them, and should he arrive there for that purpose, they would retire beyond the Mountains. The cause of this universal unpopularity was alleged to be his evidence given before the Committee on Aborigines, and the consequences of his administration of the Lieut.-Governorship of the Eastern Province of the Colony.

But while men were anxiously waiting for, and pondering over the probable decision of Her Majesty the Queen upon the much-canvassed terms granted to the Emigrant Farmers at the time of Colonel Cloete's pacification, they were suddenly astounded with as perfect a surprise as that caused by the bursting in upon us with unexpected brilliancy of that magnificent phenomenon, the great comet, about the same period, with the announcement of Her Majesty's really gracious consideration for her misguided and guilty subjects. The Queen's benevolent intentions were communicated to the Legislative Council by His Excellency the Governor on the 4th of May, in the following terms:—

MINUTE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, RESPECTING PORT NATAL.

I cheerfully avail myself of this early opportunity, after the very recent receipt of the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the Port Natal territory, of communicating to you

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the substance of the instructions with which I have been honored, and of the measures I shall immediately adopt for giving them effect. —And it will, I am persuaded, be no less gratifying to your feelings than it has been to my own, to learn, that the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies has communicated to me his " entire approval, looking to all the circumstances in which he was placed, of the course pursued by Lieut.-Colonel Cloete, of his having restrained the Zoolahs from falling upon the Emigrant Farmers, even previous to their submission; of his having extended a General Amnesty, with four exceptions only, upon their submission; and of the favorable terms which he conceded to them provisionally, upon their faithful execution of the conditions to which they had agreed.

" His Lordship trusts that the leniency thus displayed on the part of Her Majesty, has not been thrown away upon these heretofore misguided men, and that Lieut. Colonel Cloete is not too sanguine in expressing his belief that the mass of the population are prepared, and gratefully disposed, to turn their former hatred of our Government into steady fidelity.

" Of the various courses which might have been effectually pursued for maintaining the supremacy of the British Crown thus established, Her Majesty's Government has not, under the professions of allegiance made by the Farmers, deemed it either expedient or necessary to coerce them by Military Force to abandon Natal and to return to the colony; or to leave them to conduct their own affairs without affording them efficient protection. Her Majesty has, therefore, decided upon taking them under the protection of the British crown;—of recognising their district;—of adopting it as a British Colony, and of establishing such institutions, under British authority, as Her Majesty may deem necessary.

" Having thus announced to you Her Majesty's Gracious Instructions, I feel it my duty, at the same time, to inform you, that nothing would have induced Her Majesty's advisers to admit the independence of the Emigrants, and to disclaim all responsibility respecting them; or to permit them to come under the protection or dominion of any Foreign Power."

Having in my communications to Her Majesty's Government adverted to the several arguments which present themselves against the incorporation of Port Natal with the Government of this Colony, I am enabled to state that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to admit the validity of those arguments, and to consider therefore the best means by which due provision may be made for establishing at Port Natal a Colonial Government, distinct from, if not independent of, the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. This, however, is a measure which could not be carried into complete effect without the promulgation of various instruments which Her Majesty's Government have not as yet had either the necessary

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time or information to complete, and the structure of which Her Majesty's Government reserve for further consideration.

In order the better to carry into effect the objects of Her Majesty's Government, in reference to the territory in question, I am directed to dispatch a Commissioner to Port Natal, who, in the first place, will communicate formally to the Emigrants, that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve and confirm the act of General Amnesty as granted by Lt.-Colonel Cloete, acting under my authority, with respect to several persons concerned in the late revolt, and attack upon Her Majesty's Troops.

2ndly.—That the Inhabitants of Natal shall, henceforth, so long as they shall conduct themselves orderly and peaceably, be taken under the protection of Her Majesty's Government.

3rdly.—That the Commissioner shall make it his first duty, to inquire into, and report upon, the number of Farmers and others holding land within the District of Natal, and of the extent of it, which they, or those from whom they derive their claim, shall respectively have *bona fide* occupied for a period of twelve months previous to the arrival of the Commissioner, with a view to their receiving, hereafter, grants from the Crown for such an area thereof as Her Majesty may determine, subject to such fine or Quit Rent as Her Majesty may see fit to impose. In the mean time, they will be protected in the enjoyment of all such lands as they may be found by the Commissioner to claim and hold. The Commissioner's Report upon their claims will be transmitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government with the least possible delay; but no grants or sales of lands, in the Natal District can be made to any person pending the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure on the subject. I cannot, however, conceal from you my sincere belief, that the reasonable expectations of the Farmers will be realised by Her Majesty's gracious consideration of their claims, the Right Honorable the Secretary of State having communicated to me, that, notwithstanding all the faults of which the Emigrants have been guilty, Her Majesty's Government cannot be insensible to their good qualities, nor to the past hardships which they have undergone.

Her Majesty's Advisers have determined, that all sums arising from Land, whether by Sale, Rent, Fine, or Quit-rent, shall be vested in Her Majesty; as shall all dues and customs collected on any part of the Natal Coast, and that all such sums shall be appled exclusively to the maintenance of the Civil Government of the Natal district.—They have further decided, that the Governor of that Colony, under whatever denomination, shall be appointed by Her Majesty, and that no laws to be passed in the Colony shall be valid without his consent.

Her Majesty's Government is also anxious to place the Institutions of the Colony upon such a footing, consistent with the main-

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tenance of Her Royal Authority, as may be most acceptable to the bulk of her Subjects; and in order to ascertain their wants upon this point, the Commissioner will be instructed to invite the unreserved expression of their opinions and wishes, in respect to the Judicial, and other Local institutions under which they may desire to be placed, and he will be authorised to assure them, that such expressions, when submitted to her Majesty, will receive her Majesty's most favorable consideration, as, I am empowered to say—that the contentment of the Emigrants, rather than the abstract merits of these institutions, will guide the decision of her Majesty's Ministers.

It is, however, to be distinctly understood, that upon the question of Legislation, Her Majesty reserves to herself the most entire freedom of action.

It is also of the utmost importance for the Farmers to understand, that with the exception of defraying the expenses for Military Protection by the Mother Country, the Colony must in every respect, support the charges for its local Government.

The Commissioner will, likewise, be instructed to make known, in the most explicit terms, to the Emigrants, that whatever may be the Institutions ultimately sanctioned, the three following conditions are absolutely essential:—

1st. That there shall not be in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatsoever, founded on mere distinction of color, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike.

2d. That no aggression shall be sanctioned upon the Natives residing beyond the limits of the Colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person, or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the Government.

3d. That Slavery, in any shape or under any modification, is absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of her Majesty's Dominions.

So essential, indeed, to the mind of her Majesty's Government. are these conditions, that I am instructed to take especial care for it to be distinctly understood, that they are indispensable preliminaries to the permission which it is proposed to give to the Emigrants to occupy the Territory of Port Natal, and to enjoy therein a settled Government under British protection.

In the course of a few days my arrangements will be completed for the appointment of the Commissioner, when I shall be enabled to promulgate by Proclamation the general view taken by Her Majesty's Government, of the mode of dealing with the Natal District, and which I have now communicated to you. In the mean time, I cannot too plainly make known through you, that I am positively restricted, for the present, from the disposal of any land at Natal; and I am further instructed to discourage to the

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utmost of my power, any speculative Emigration which may be likely to arise on the first intimation that Natal is to be adopted and taken under British Protection.

Government House, Cape Town, 4th May, 1843.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

This announcement was followed up by the appointment of a Commissioner, in the person of THE HONORABLE MR. ADVOCATE CLOETE, a gentleman on all hands, and by every party, hailed as the most fitted for the delicate and arduous office by education, temper, and experience—by a declaratory proclamation to the emigrants as to the grounds of their submission, and by a prudent withdrawal of the proclamation of the 11th of August, 1842, offering rewards for the apprehension of the four ringleaders in the previous revolt.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint the Hon. H. CLOETE, Ls., Esq., LL.D., to be Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Natal Territory.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 5th May, 1843.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint the Hon H CLOETE, Ls., Esq., LL.D., to be Justice of the Peace for the Districts of Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, and Cradock.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 10th May, 1843.

By His Excellency Command,

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, K.C.B.,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas I did, on the 11th day of August, 1842, issue a certain Proclamation offering a reward of One Thousand Pounds to any person or persons who should apprehend and lodge in any of Her Majesty's prisons, or with the officer commanding Her Majesty's forces at Port Natal, in order to their being dealt with according to law, the certain persons following, that is to say, JOACHIM PRINS-

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LOO, JACOBUS JOHANNES BURGER, MICHIEL VAN BREDA, and SERVAAS VAN BREDA, alleged to have been guilty of the crime of High Treason; and offering also a reward of Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds for each of the said persons who should be apprehended and lodged in the manner aforesaid;—And whereas, under existing circumstances, it appears to me to be expedient that the said Proclamation should be recalled,—but so, however, as not to amount to any pledge or promise of pardon to any of the said persons so charged as aforesaid, with the crime aforesaid, whose cases will hereafter be fully considered and finally determined upon as justice shall require;—Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim, declare, and publish, that the said Proclamation of the 11th of August, 1842, and the offers of reward therein made, have been, and the same are hereby wholly abrogated and withdrawn, and that the said persons in the said Proclamation named, and for whose apprehension the said offers of reward were made, are hereafter, to be viewed and considered just as if the said Proclamation had never been issued, and not otherwise or differently.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement, at Cape Town, this 10th day of May, 1843.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER, Governor.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint the Hon. H. CLOETE, Ls., Esq., LL.D., to be a Justice of the Peace under, and for the purposes of the Act of Parliament 6th and 7th Will. IV, Cap. 57.

Colonial Office, Cape of Good Hope, 11th May, 1843.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

PROCLAMATION

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR GEORGE THOMAS NAPIER, K.C.B.,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas Her Majesty the Queen, in reference to the resistance to Her Royal Authority, manifested, some time since by certain of Her then misguided Subjects resident in the district of Port Natal, hath been graciously pleased to bury past transactions in oblivion,

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and to declare Herself desirous of being enabled to rely upon the assurances of loyalty and obedience which Her said subjects have solemnly and deliberately given: And whereas, by a Despatch which I have recently received from the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, I have had communicated to me the gracious intentions of Her Majesty with regard to the district aforesaid, as well as the general views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the mode in which the affairs of the said district shall be settled, so as most completely to secure the preservation of Her Majesty's Sovereign Authority: the prosperity of the people for whose safety and guidance that Authority has been asserted; and the peace, protection and salutary control of all classes of men settled at, and surrounding that, important portion of South Africa; And whereas, although in a Minute lately laid by me before the Legislative Council of this Colony,—of which Minute a copy was, by my order, published in the *Government Gazette* of the 5th of May, instant, for general information, —I have adverted to the principles upon which Her Majesty's Government purpose to proceed in carrying out the beneficent line of policy already indicated,—I deem it, nevertheless, to be expedient to promulgate by way of Proclamation the substance of some portions of the said Minute, together with certain further details therewith connected, in order, amongst other things, that Her Majesty's Commissioner hereinafternamed, who is upon the eve of his departure to Natal, may be duly accredited, and the general scope and object of his powers sufficiently understood;—Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim declare, and make known, the several matters following, that is to say,—

1. That by virtue of the power and authority, in that behalf in me vested, I have nominated, constituted, and appointed the Hon. HENRY CLOETE, Esquire, Ls. LL.D., to be, during pleasure, Her Majesty's Commissioner for the District of Port Natal.

II. That Her Majesty's said Commissioner is authorised to communicate formally to the settlers in the said district, that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of and confirm the act of General Amnesty of the 15th July, 1842, in manner and form as the same was originally granted by Lt. Col. CLOETE, acting under my authority, with respect to the various persons concerned in the late revolt, and attack upon Her Majesty's troops.

III. That the district of Port Natal, according to such convenient limits as shall hereafter be fixed upon and defined, will be recognized and adopted by Her Majesty the Queen, as a British Colony, and that the inhabitants thereof shall, so long as they conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner, be taken under the protection of the British Crown.

IV. That Her Majesty's said Commissioner is empowered and intructed to ascertain, in the fullest manner, the opinions and wishes

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of Her Majesty's subjects at Natal, relative to their Judical and other Local Institutions, in order that suitable arrangements in that behalf may afterwards be made, according to the benignant principles explained and set forth in my Minute to the Legislative Council, and which need not be here repeated.

V. That while Her Majesty's said Commissioner is not debarred by his Instructions from receiving and recording any suggestions which may be offered relative to the species of Legislative Authority proper to be established in the Colony, he will, at the same time, cause it to be distinctly understood, that upon this subject Her Majesty reserves to herself the most entire freedom of action.

VI. That Her Majesty's said Commissioner is instructed distinctly to declare that the three next mentioned conditions,—all of them so manifestly righteous and expedient as to secure, it is to be hoped, their cheerful recognition by the inhabitants of Natal,—are to be considered as absolutely indispensable to the permission which it is proposed to give the Emigrants to occupy the Territory in question, and to enjoy therein a settled Government under British Protection:

1st. That there shall not be in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of color, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike.

2d. That no aggression shall be sanctioned upon the Natives residing beyond the limits of the Colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person, or any body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the Government.

3d. That Slavery, in any shape or under any modification, is absolutely unlawful, as in every other portion of her Majesty's Dominions.

VII. That, pending the promulgation of such definitive arrangements as Her Majesty may be graciously pleased hereafter to sanction and establish, the existing institutions of the District of Natal will not be interfered with, so long as nothing is attempted, under colour thereof, contrary to the tenor of any of the Provisions of this Proclamation, or to the Act of the 6th and 7th Wm. 4, Chap. 57, regarding Crimes and Offences committed by any of Her Majesty's Subjects within any Territory adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and being to the Southward of the 25th degree of South Latitude, or to the loyalty and due obedience owing to the British crown.

VIII. That, with the exception of the expense of maintaining, within the District of Natal, a military Force adequate to its protection, which expense will be borne by the Mother country, that colony must, in every respect, support the charges of its local Government.

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IX. That, in order the better to enable the colony to sustain the said charges, no extrinsic application will be made of any portion whatever of the Revenue originating within the same, but all sums of money arising from land, and whether by sale, rent, fine, or quit-rent, shall be vested in her Majesty, as shall also all dues and customs which may at any time, after the legal establishment of the colony, be collected on any part of the Natal coast, and all such sums of money shall be applied exclusively to the maintenance of the Civil Government of the District,

X. That the Farmers and all others holding land within the District of Port Natal, shall, pending the further pleasure of her Majesty, be protected in the enjoyment of all such lands as they shall be found by Her Majesty's Commissioner to claim and hold.

XI. That the Farmers and all others holding land within the said District, will be called upon by the said Commissioner to make accurate Returns, showing the quantity of land which they, or those from whom they derive their claim, shall have *bona fide* occupied for a period of twelve months next before the arrival of the said Commissioner, in order that—after such Returns shall have been verified by the said Commissioner—grants from the crown may be made to the several parties, to such an extent and upon such terms, as Her Majesty,—taking into consideration the circumstances of the colony, the general welfare of its inhabitants, and the expediency of raising, in any just and equitable manner, such a land revenue as may make the charge of supporting the Local Government least burthensome to Her Subjects,—may approve of and impose.

XII. That, pending the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure upon the subject, no grants or sales of Lands in the Natal District will be made to any person whomsoever; and that all persons are hereby distinctly warned of the absolute futility of any attempt to acquire a title or claim to any lands in the said District, by any species of dealing or transaction with any person or persons whatever, save and except in such cases as fall legitimately within the principle of the *bona fide* occupation of twelve months, as in the last preceding article set forth.

AND NOW, in order that her Majesty's said commissioner may be the better able to discharge the important duties with which he is entrusted,—I hereby charge and exhort all Her Majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting him while acting in the performance of his several functions, that so the affairs of the Natal district may the more speedily and satisfactorily be settled and arranged,—an efficient, though, as much as may be, an expensive Government, supported by Her Majesty's power and authority, be substituted for an auamalous state, productive of weakness and disunion,—the gracious desire of Her Majesty to knit the hearts of all Her subjects to Her person and Government, as evinced by her willigness to concede to her people at Port Natal every just personal right, and every reason-

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able political privilege, be happily accomplished,—and the natural resources of that country be gradually developed under Her Majesty's firm but fostering rule, stimulating the industry, which can never prosper but beneath settled institutions, and securing the advantages which are enjoyed by every colony of Great Britain.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Given under my Hand and the Public Seal of the Settlement, at Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, this 12th day of May, 1843.

(Signed) GEO. NAPIER.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU,
Secretary to Government.

Her Majesty's commands were hailed throughout the Colony, both by English and Dutch, with rapture and hope, and not a doubt was expressed but that the emigrants would submit to terms as benevolent as they were magnanimous,—*magnanimous*, such as none but a Sovereign of so powerful a nation could grant to an erring but hitherto-much-abused people. The Press, especially the Dutch, could hardly find terms to testify the universal sense of the condescension, kindness and spirit of concession, so nobly displayed in Her Majesty's orders—and one general feeling was abroad that a full and final settlement of the long-vexed question would be immediately obtained.

Whatever may be the results of the mission of the Honorable Mr. Cloete—and gracious Heaven grant success to his efforts!—Her Majesty the Queen's decision was dictated by the soundest principles and the most amiable of motives. She could not forget that the Dutch of this Colony were a *conquered* people, and generosity becomes the conqueror far better than the laurel wreath and the triumphal car. The Dutch inhabitants of the Colony were transferred from Holland to England in 1815, most unceremoniously, at a money price, which would doubtless be galling to an Englishman:—

If you tell a Cape Dutchman that by the treaty of Paris he and all his family were *sold* for £33 sterling per head, that being the amount at which, as one of 90,000 souls, he was *valued* when three millions were paid to the King of the Netherlands, he becomes

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most indignant. It is a mixed feeling, arising in part from pride, hurt at having been the object of a sale, and partly from vexation at being separated from the land of his forefathers, and compelled to submit to the fate of a conquered country.—*Vide the Civil Servant, by W. W. Bird, Esq., on the state of the Cape in* 1822, *page* 176.

Is it to be wondered, then, that his yearnings should still be to his Fatherland? But other changes, incident and inevitable to such a condition which took place were not likely to soften the asperities engendered by his condition. The harshest, but always the most politic step of a conqueror, was taken by the victor in this case,—we interfered with his national tongue, and are we to be surprised therefore, if sometimes the brutal and ignorant, unable to understand or appreciate the necessity as well as the importance of the measure, should, with the ferosity of Caliban in the Tempest, curse the new task-master, exclaiming?—

"The red plague rid ye
For teaching me your language."

The enemies of the unfortunate emigrants, taking advantage of their supposed feelings as a conquered community, have all been anxious to make it appear that the farmers are naturally a turbulent and rebellious race, and they adduce the only disturbances which have ever occurred in the Colony, namely, those of 1796 and 1815 as proofs in point. They are wilfully and wickedly wrong in citing these as examples. That of 1796 was a resistance by the unconquered to the new conquerors, the British—who, although they had subdued the western end of the Colony, had not reached with their arms the distant frontier,—and the ill-informed inhabitants, unaware of the power of their assailants, believed they could hold out for their native country until succour arrived, or they vainly imagined they could establish a government of their own. They were soon enlightened on both these points. The "affair" of 1815 was a local riot, an *emeute*, a sort of "row," with not half the dignity of the Chartist outbreak, some few years ago, at Néwport in Wales. A few foolish people, of a remote part of a distant district, resist a judicial warrant, some lives are lost in

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a paltry encounter, on which the friends and relatives of the persons who met their death band themselves together—talk like Gascons—march against a little stockade, which they summon to surrender, are laughed at for their pains, pursued, caught, a few of them hanged, and all is quiet again. And this for party purposes has been ennobled into a grave and great case of rebellion! bah! *

Her Majesty's decision was also distinguished for its *prudence* —no mean quality in matters of government. The chief objection of those irresponsible bodies, who, unluckily until of late, have coerced the home government in the management of its colonies—the Aborigines' Protection Society and the Anti-Slavery Society—to the settlement of whites on the territories of the native tribes of our Colonies, was founded on the ground that they would dispossess, enslave and oppress, the aborigines. Her Majesty's government no doubt had discovered, that to attempt to stop a people wanting lands—having fertile fields and copious fountains in their immediate neighbourhood, unused by the natives and more than they required, and which people they could not enclose in a magic circle of mystic words and characters, embalmed in proticols and proclamations, was nugatory. It had perhaps found out that the dispersion of the leaven of civilization and Christianization, however weak it may be, from our borders, was likely to extend more good than harm. It had probably, too, ascertained from authentic sources, that, even with the fearful loss of life attendant on the migration of the Boers into the interior, there was every probability of that very circumstance putting a stop to the wholesale and inhuman butchery common to the whole of Africa in the forays of one tribe on another, and which the presence of the boers would restrain.† This view of the subject might be

* Vide, Pringle's Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, page 189.

† Chaka, in his conquests, is said to have destroyed full ONE MILLION of human beings, (vide Part I, p. 20). The compiler of these papers has in his possession a list of native tribes, under the hand of a resident Missionary, whose locality may be marked out as contained between the 23° and 29° degrees of South latitude, and those of 25° to 32° of longitude West, whose numbers

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classed as well under the head of HUMANITY as much as that of *prudence*. But the prudence of the terms of Her Majesty were still more conspicuous. The Boers are no common enemy. In no Colony of Great Britain, and hardly in Spain itself, is there a *Guerrilla* force so formidable :—

No country can produce better marksmen than the Dutch colonists of Southern Africa. Accustomed from their earliest youth to the use of their powerful gun, they have constant practice in the pursuit of game, which still abounds in many parts of the colony. When the sportsman meets the lion, the leopard, the elephant, or the buffalo, he must have confidence in his dexterity, for it is not enough to hit the animal, he must be struck in the proper place, or in all probability his pursuer will be immediately destroyed.—*Major Charter's Notices of the Cape, &c.*

To have coerced the emigrants would have been to drive them into the wilderness, where trespassing without having purchased or obtained the interior territories (which they did not in the case of Dingaan), they would have been assailed on all sides by the natives, and forced in self-defence to destroy them, and the very object for which the Aborigines' Protection Society was established would have been sacrificed. Retaliation would soon have inscribed on its bloody standard a desolation which the bare idea of is enough to make one shudder. Could the government of Imperial Britain follow up their subjects in their retreat into those interminable wastes?—Would the people of England tax themselves to do so? The wise Henry the IV of France once observed of a warfare, such as this would engender, and carried on in such a country, "*That a small army would be defeated and a large one starved.*" *Economy* is the soul of prudence, and *prudent* was the determination of our beloved Sovereign in conciliating rather than coercing.

Justice, however, by far the sublimest attribute of the crown,

were equal to full 380,000, all dispersed, dispossessed, and by far the greater part slain, entirely by native commotions. The whole of this immense mass of our fellow creatures were hurried into eternity long before a single white man—Boer or Englishman, had entered their territory. The number of Zoolas killed by the Emigrant Farmers in self-defence, is estimated at from 3,000 to 4,000, but since these terrible sacrifices quiet has reigned supreme, and the farmers have put down altogether this sanguinary system.

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seems to have presided over the whole. Her Majesty knew that her Colonial subjects had numerous and some indeed irremediable grievances to complain of. With deep commiseration she no doubt had read their frequent appeals—their statements of wrongs, endured until further endurance became impossible, when they flung themselves into the desert rather than beard the authority of the British government in its own limits—for be it kept in memory, the *defection* of the Boers was not commenced *within* the Colony, but when they had left its precincts and jurisdiction. They departed with the assent and knowledge of the Colonial government, and when on soil they acquired or assumed as their own, they declared their independence, unwitting that an English-born subject can never renounce his fealty. The government were aware that, right or wrong, they complained of its having tampered with their currency, with the mode of compensating them for their slaves—with vexatious enactments connected with that great measure —for permitting an intolerable state of vagrancy to exist, although they continually made representations of its evils—with withholding the titles of their lands—and last, but greatest of all, the extreme state of insecurity of life and property by the savages on the Kafir border.* All these considerations, without doubt, actuated Her Majesty's Counsels when she revolved the claims and condition of her fugitive subjects, and she generously, mercifully, and wisely, passed an act of oblivion for their excesses, to which it is to be hoped they will respond by a return to their allegiance. The errors have been mutual, and the terms offered by Her Majesty are a guarrantee that the people of Natal will be freed for the future from that misgovernment which afflicted them while denizens of the Cape Colony.

If the Natal Emigrants persist in their defection they lose the sympathy of their brother Colonists, Dutch as well as English, and their subjugation by force of arms will be supported by every true-hearted and loyal subject. Whatever the ab-

* Vide, Appendix for Official Returns of Kafir Depredations.

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stract principles that may be advocated for them, by ransacking the pages of Vattel and other authors,* two things are certain,—*first,* that as British subjects they cannot shake off their allegiance; and *secondly*, that expediency, common sense, and our right of self-protection can never allow them to erect an Independent Power in the neighbourhood of the Colony. A cave of Adullan, without the chance of a David, would not be tolerated, nor would a hornet's nest, to which every noxious and dangerous reptile might resort, be permitted for one instant to exist.

One observation more and this compilation closes. If the emigrants who, impatient of their evils, fled their allegiance—unfurled the flag of independence and resisted the troops of Britain, have been thus magnanimously treated—what are the claims, and what may be the hopes of the English settlers of the Frontier of the Cape Colony, who have endured so long and patiently wrongs of the same kind as their fellow subjects, the African Dutch settlers, from the Colony? They have struggled on through years of unmerited reproach and bitter suffering, from the same causes, which, *unredressed up to this very moment,* have become aggravated in character; but adhering to constitutional modes of Englishmen learned in their mother-country and which they have taught their children here, they have as yet had recourse only to the "Right of Petition," be it said, with sorrow and shame, hitherto without effect. They have, notwithstanding, maintained their loyalty, which not the breath of slander can sully, and they still cherish the belief that the Queen, who can generously forgive the errors of a foreign race, is both willing and inclined to redress the grievances, so submissively borne by a people to whom she is "kith and kin"—THE BRITISH SETTLERS, invited to take pos-

* Vide, Vattel, as quoted § 15, 16, to 25, 80, 122. Country, 143. Clergy. cap. xvi, b. i. Protection, cap. xvii, § 202. Cap. xviii Estab'ishing a Country, 220, 222. Quitting a country, b. ii, cap. iv. Security, self-preservation, cap. v, § 66 7-8-9, 70. Cap. iii, § 83-4, 94 5 6 7-8. Cap. viii, Rules with respect to Foreigners. Cap. ix, x, xi.
B. iii, cap. xiv, xv.

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session of the Eastern portion of this Colony, and of course entitled to protection as they contribute to the exigencies of the state.

***Cradock's Town, Port Elizabeth,* 1*st July*, 1843.**

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APPENDIX

TO

THE NATAL PAPERS.

A.—Charge of the Seizure of Colonial Cattle by Government without indemnification explained.

B.—Charge against the Colonists for their avidity to despoil the Kafirs of their Lands, met and disproved.

C.—Brief Review of the steps taken by His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban for the tranquillization of the Frontier, especially as regarded the Emigration of the Farmers.

D.—Public Papers omitted in the Re-print, showing the *warning* given to Government—one of which was signed by the Farmers, who afterwards became the principal actors in the attack upon the Troops at Natal.

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APPENDIX

TO

THE NATAL PAPERS.

A.—SEIZURE OF COLONIAL CATTLE BY GOVERNMENT.

By an error in marking the papers selected for reprint, the compiler regrets he has given currency to the opinion of Major Charters in that gentleman's enumeration of the causes of the migration of the Dutch Farmers, that the seizure of the property of the Colonists during the Kafir war formed one of their chief complaints. The extract from the Major's statement will be found at page 45 of the first part of these papers and is as follows, viz.:

Another cause of just complaint was the violent seizure of property during the Kafir war of 1835 *by Government, without adequate indemnification.* Cattle were taken wherever they could be found, both for transport and provisions; and the unsettled claims on this score amount, as I have been informed, to upwards of £250,000. This abuse will best be explained by an example. I was riding out one day with the Governor near Graham's Town, when we passed, by the roadside, the tent of a wagon converted into a hut, and a family living in it. A middled aged, melancholy-looking man was standing at a little distance, who took his hat off as the Governor approached. His Excellency, as he was wont to do, when anything attracted his attention, stopped to speak to him. The man said that his name was CARNIE, a Scotchman; that he had come out with the settlers in 1820; that by great exertions he had been able to make himself tolerably comfortable, and had

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possessed from 80 to 100 oxen; that the Kafir war took place; that he himself was marched off to Graham's Town to be enrolled as a soldier, and all his cattle taken by Government; that on his return, after the war, he found his house destroyed and all his effects gone, and that the only remuneration he could ever get consisted of some cattle which he had been able to sell for £30. Many were the instances of a similar nature which came to my knowledge, but the above may be taken as a type of the whole. Well might these people exclaim—" Heaven protect us from our friends!"

Now this charge is greatly exaggerated—mere gossip of the gallant colonel, under the promptings of Lt.-Governor Stockenstrom, who had before asserted that this was the *main* cause of the migration, in accordance with his uniform endeavor to throw odium on the government preceding his own, and divert attention from those acts of his own administration, his policy, and the tenor of his evidence before the House of Commons, which were in fact the real and chief causes of the movement. It it true that a few individuals had made this seizure of property during the Kafir war, a cause of complaint, and that Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom grasped with avidity the opportunity this afforded him to cast imputations upon Sir Benjamin D'Urban. To the representations on this subject by the Lieut.-Governor, it is known immediate attention was paid by the government at Cape Town, but Capt. Stockenstrom, it is also well known, never substantiated a single well founded case; and although solicited, he never ettempted to furnish the particulars of the many he wished it to be believed had been brought to his notice. Indeed, could he have done so, which was impossible, the remedy lay in his own hands, for the Civil Commissioners of Somerset and Uitenhage, before the end of September, 1836, had been authorized to bring to account a sum of nearly £18,000, and further payment were made applicable to the same service during the year 1837. A Board, too, as early as the 27th Jan., 1835, had been established for the consideration of all claims on account of sacrifices made in horses, cattle, aud articles supplied by the inhabitants, to meet the necessities of the period, by which all claims that were preferred received the most careful attention.

One of the complainants, of whose statements the Lieut.-Governor took advantage to found his charge, was a notoriously litigious character of Albany, but his representations were at once triumphantly refuted by Mr. Hougham Hudson, and remuneration was refused to him by the Commissariat Department, as well that gentlemen, as the complainant had

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failed to make good his claim; and with regard to the *melancholy-looking-man*, CARNIE, it fortunately carries its own refutation, for no man in his position either was or could be enrolled as a soldier—he served in the local *volunteers*, as did every man capable of bearing arms, receiving rations for himself and family. Eighty or 100 oxen the man never possessed.

The amount of claims "*on this score*," is stated by Major Charters at £250,000;—now it is obvious that either in ignorance or designedly he confounded claims "on this score," (the violent seizure of cattle, &c., by Government, without adequate indemnification), with those on account of compensation for losses by the Kafir invasion, which ranged somewhere between £250,000 and £300,000 (vide part I. page 39). The whole losses "on this score" did not amount to one-fiftieth of that sum.

B.—AVIDITY OF THE COLONISTS TO DESPOIL THE KAFIRS OF THEIR LANDS.

The clamour raised within the Colony, by parties—some of them amiable yet mistaken men—but others who, "conscious of guilt," had so far committed themselves in behalf of the treacherous savages and their own reputation, was unfortunately soon responded to by the little-informed yet really-philanthropic masses in Britain. Among the incendiary arts resorted to by the chief impugner of the acts of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Mr. John Fairbairn, was the charge that the Governor's measures were only approved of by the Colonists, *because* they coveted the territory of their neighbours, that they sighed for the "green pastures" and thirsted for the "chrystal founts" of the Kafirs, whose irritation all along arose from the repeated aggressions of the Colony upon their lands.*

The latter charge has already been dealt with and disproved, for not one inch of Kafirland was ever taken from the Kafirs at any period of our colonial history; but the *wickedness* of the former, which is only to be paralleled by the extreme ignorance of its inventor, remains to be exposed.

For the information of those so cruelly misled by the malicious misrepresentations of the editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, I shall give the following authentic statement of the real circumstances of this case.

It is now known that for the verdant fields and bright wa-

* Vide *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 16th May, 30th May, 3d June, &c. &c. &c.

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ters of *Kaffraria*, there were comparatively few suitors,—for out of 322 applications for lands after the annexation of the Province of Adelaide to the Colony, *only* 92 were for farms beyond the old boundary of the Keiskamma River. The following Returns are in proof:—

APPLICATIONS FOR LANDS IN KAFIRLAND.

		Applications.	
	No.	*By English.*	*By Dutch.*
1. In Adelaide Province, ...	48	24	24
2. On Buffalo River, ...	13	6	7
3. In King William's Town, and neighborhood	31	31	0
	92	61	31

APPLICATIONS FOR LANDS IN THE CEDED TERRITORY, *i.e.* WITHIN THE COLONY.*

1. On the Great Fish River, ...	26	21	5
2. On the Chumie, ...	38	23	15
3. On the Konap, ...	5	2	3
4. On the Kat River, ...	36	32	4
5. Keiskamma, right bank, ...	40	11	29
6. Green River	5	0	5
7. Blinkwater, ...	7	5	2
8. Klip Plaat's River, ...	9	1	8
9. Beka, ...	6	6	0
10. Klaas Smith's River, ...	20	19	1
11. Sundry places	38	26	12
	230	146	84

C.—BRIEF REVIEW OF THE STEPS TAKEN BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN AS REGARDED THE EMIGRATION OF THE FARMERS, AND FOR THE TRANQUILLIZATION OF THE FRONTIER.

Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, G.C.B. &c. &c., one of the most distinquished heroes of the Peninsula war, assumed the reins of the Government of the Cape Colony upon the 16th January, 1834. The first difficulty of his government was the preparation of arrangements for the abolition of slavery, which was to take place on the following 1st of December, and these important affairs occupied so much of his time and that of the Council that, unfortunately, his visit

* Among these applicants, including a number of Hottentots, may be seen several parties who have since been most active in decrying the sytem of Sir Benjamin, however willing to profit by it when it was thought it would be confirmed. The Lieut. Governor's brother, *Major* Stockenstrom, and the *reat* chief, Jan Tza zoe, besides many other important and aristocratic names lso adorn the splend.d list of humble expectants of the Governor's bounty.

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to the Frontier districts was protracted to the period of the Kafir invasion, an event which no human foresight could have imagined was about to take place.

His Excellency the Governor on his arrival, with a spirit of good sense, called around him a number of intelligent persons able to give him information respecting the colony, the destinies of which he had been chosen to watch over, and he soon found they had been suffering under a heavy load of unredressed, but not unrepresented grievances. His next step was to test the various private and other representations which had reached him, and he soon came to the conclusion that the people under his newly assumed government deserved more attention for their statement of wrongs suffered than they had hitherto received.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, like most of his predecessors in the government of the colony, came prepossessed against the people whose interests he had been selected to administer, but, unlike certain others, he was not obstinate, but open to conviction, and his subsequent conversion must therefore be considered the more valuable. Previous to his departure from England he had been waited upon by the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who had enlisted the best feelings of his naturally benevolent character on the side of the said-to-be-ill-treated natives, and against the really-abused colonists, and the notorious work by the Rev. Dr. John Philip, —superintendent of that society,—"The South African Researches," a work replete with exaggerations and libel, was placed in His Excellency's hands as a *Text Book* for his guidance in the administration of the colony.

The Governor's onerous duties in the preparations necessary on the abolition of slavery, were broken in upon by the sudden and unprovoked invasion of the Eastern Division of the Colony by the Kafir tribes at the end of 1834. This dreadful and extensive inroad he repelled—drove back the assailants—invaded their country in turn—forced them to cry for peace, and ultimately annexed the territory of the most culpable and dangerous clans to the Colony. The consequence of these vigorous and sound measures on the part of the Governor, was the restoration of confidence on the part of the Colonists, the entire cessation of all predatory forays by the Kafirs, the abolition of all dangerous, cruel, and superstitous observances amongst that people, especially for the punishment of the alleged crime of witchraft, and the purchase of wives, (the most fertile cause of robberies upon the

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Colony,) and on both sides the promise of a long continuance of peace and prosperity appears to have been secured. Unfortunately for the Colonists, *and not less for the savages*, the retaliatory war forced upon His Excellency was represented to the Home Government through one rabid individual wielding a press,* and by other irresponsible and malignant parties within the Colony, who mislead others in England, as carried out with cruelty; the annexation of the territory was denounced as a matter of the grossest injustice, while the atrocious and undeserved destruction of fourteen years hard and patient labor spent upon the settlement of Albany, by people expressly sent out by Government in 1820, with the pledge and undoubted claim for support and protection, whose members had never been guilty of a single act of oppression on their dark-skinned neighbours, was *justified* by the then Secretary of State on the *false* ground that the Colonists had provoked the savages by their own predatory acts. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, too, was summarily dismissed from his government for vindicating his own acts, and indignantly complaining that the Secretary of State had preferred the information derived from irresponsible parties, whose names that Minister refused to divulge, while the facts of the case, with abundant proof in corroboration, were alleged by himself, the responsible servant of the Crown in the Colony, and cognizant of their strict correctness.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in establishing the principles of his policy, fully weighed the whole pressure of the difficulties under which the colonists lay, and if we take the trouble to arrange the complaints made by them under their respective heads, it will be found that he not only had devised, but in many cases already carried out a part of the *curative* process. Had his recommendations been met in that spirit of wisdom in which they were conceived they would have satisfied the colonists and given peace to the border. The migration of the Farmers, which he foresaw and represented in full time to the Home Government, and prophesied with a fatal prescience as the sure consequence of the abandonment of his policy would never have taken place; and thus would have been saved the loss of blood, treasure, and trouble inflicted on the colony and on the mother country, and that irritation which has lately well nigh shaken the loyalty of the colonists to the very center.

* Vide *South African Commercial Advertiser*, January 3, 14, Feb. 7, 21, May 9, 16, 30, June 3, July 11, 18, 25, Aug. 1, 8, 22, &c. &c.

The heads of grievances alluded to as discovered by the Governor, with the efforts he made to redress them, are as follows:—

1st. The State of Insecurity of Life and Property on the Frontier, and the Migration of the Farmers.

By a reference to the papers published by order of the House of Commons, it will be found that Sir Benjamin, on the 19th June, 1835, 23d March, and 9th June, 1836, brought the whole state of the Frontier, and the danger of a reversal of his system fully to the knowledge of the home government, and on the 29th July, 1837, it is known that he requested "defined and precise instructions as to the relation to be henceforth maintained by His Majesty's Government with the Emigrants in their new condition, which can scarcely be regarded in any other light than that of a separate colony, whenever it shall be their ultimate object to establish it. To this no reply, it is said, was received by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but his successor, in April, 1838, was informed, in the loosest manner, that the emigrants are Her Majesty's subjects, but subjects who have placed themselves beyond the reach of Her Majesty's protection, by measures which Her Majesty altogether discountenances and condemns.

Sir Benjamin, anxious to ascertain the extent of the migration on the 8th February, 1837, called for reports on the subject, when he found that from the Eastern Province 1,052 persons had actually left, and 184 contemplated the step; while from the Western Division 15 had departed, and 73 intended to do so.

Previous to this, however, the Governor consulted the chief legal authority in the colony, the Attorney-General, as to the laws in force against migration, and the policy of rescinding permissions to pass the borders. This was done previous to the Kafir war, as early as the 5th Sept. 1834, when such a measure was agitated by the frontier farmers, in consequence of the continual depredations by Kafirs, and the want of protection by the Government. On the 10th the Attorney-General, after reciting the various enactments on the subject, concluded that he was unable to suggest any measure to repress such an emigration from the colony; but the Governor issued a proclamation on the following day, repeating the laws and warning the intending emigrants from removing any of their slaves, for he had been abused into the belief that the colonists contemplated that step merely to evade the abolition.

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The Civil Commissioner of Albany, having represented on the 29th of July, 1836, that a very extensive emigration was intended in consequence of the reported reversal of Sir Benjamin's measures, the Governor, with the view of arresting so dangerous a movement, again referred to the Attorney-General, from whose opinion the following are extracts:—

It is impossible to prevent persons passing out by the land boundaries by the laws now in force, or any that could be formed under the circumstances of the Colony.

It is impossible to levy the penalties and they could easily be evaded.

Would it, therefore, be prudent or just—even if it were possible—to prevent persons discontented with their condition from trying to better themselves in whatever part of the world they please? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States.

Is there any effectual means of arresting them but shooting them as they pass the boundary? I apprehend not, and if so, the remedy is worse than the disease.

The Government, therefore, is and must remain without the power of effectually preventing the evil—*if evil it be.*

On the following 19th of Aug., Sir Benjamin addressed Lt. Governor Stockenstrom, enclosing the letter of the Civil Commissioner of Albany of the 29th July, with the Attorney General's opinion; recommending the Lieut. Governor, at the same time, that as there appeared a want of power to restrain the emigration, to use persuasion and influence with the farmers as he (Sir B.) had already done. At a subsequent period he implored Captain Stockenstrom to conciliative persuasive manners, attention to the wants of the farmers, sympathy for their sufferings, and to assure them of the utmost efforts of the Government to procure them relief—with what success may be seen in the celebrated correspondence (vide part I, pages 55, *et seqr.*) between Pieter Retief* and the Lieut. Governor, his reversal of all Sir Benjamin D'Urban's measures, and his well known remark as to the emigrants, re-echoed in the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, "*Let them go, we can do better without them.*"

That Sir Benjamin was correct in his representations of the certain effects consequent on the reversal of his System, may be shown from the admissions of the Colonial Government itself, with regard to the depredations by Kafirs, viz:

* Poor Retief was summarily dismissed by Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom in the most illegal manner. His appointment had been made by the Governor, and he alone could recal it. The Attorney General, it is known, de-

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KAFIR DEPREDATIONS UPON THE HERDS OF THE COLONISTS.

The following are the results obtained from the Government Returns* of Kafir depredations. The Lists are denomined RECLAIMABLE and IRRECLAIMABLE. Reclaimable means, that any colonist, paying taxes to his Sovereign as the price of protection, has the *privilege* of claiming and regaining any cattle that may be stolen from him—*if he can get them*—a very unusual circumstance. Irreclaimable means that cattle, abstracted by adroit Kafir thieves, so that their foot-marks cannot be traced across the boundary, the trace being obliterated by other cattle, designedly drove over it, or from the effects of rain, wind, or other causes, cannot be legally demanded, even if identified in Kafirland; in fact, according to treaty, they are *lawfully stolen.*

Statement of Losses sustained by the Colonists of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, by Depredations made by the Kafir people during the Administration of the Stockenstrom Policy, taken from the Government Returns.

	Separate acts of Depredation.	STOLEN.		RECOVERED.		STILL DUE.	
		Horses.	Cattle.	Horses	Cattle.	Horses	Cattle.
1837	......	384	2403	229 (1837–1838)	1350 (1837–1838)	639 (1837–1838)	2885 (1837–1838)
1838	288	484	1841				
1839	274	389	1148	198	487	191	661
1840	198	343	847	101	393	242	454
1841	132	180	619	50	427	130	192
1842	359	368	2437	160	1353	208	1084
1843 1st qr.	29	12	298	4	156	8	52
Total,		2160	9593	742	4175	1418	5328

clared officially that the dismission was irregular, as it ought to have been recommended by the Lieut. Governor to the Governor; but the former, in the most flippant manner, took upon himself the responsibility of the act, and when remonstrated with, insultingly observed that it was in the Governor's power to restore the degraded functionary if he thought proper!

* Government Returns. It is a well known fact that not one half of the depredations really committed find their way into these Returns—in some cases from the distance of the sufferers from the officers to whom report must be made, "but chiefly from the utter uselessness of taking the trouble of doing so." The traveller Lichtenstein makes a similar remark at the time he visited the Frontier in 1801. He says the "Returns of Losses were not more than two thirds their actual number."

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Statement of Cattle and Horses, stolen from the Colonists since the date of the last Government Returns, (being for the Quarter, March 1843), extracted from the Frontier Newspapers.

From the 1st April to the 17th August, 1843	Horses 351	Cattle 165?

Statement of the Average Annual Losses sustained by the Colonists on the Kafir Frontier under the various Systems of Policy pursued by the Colonial Government from the year 1810, to the 21st June, 1843.

System.	Year.	Stolen.	
		Cattle.	Horses
Under the Commando System, ...	1810 to 1834	1260	57
Under Sir Benj. D'Urban's policy....	1835 & 1836	Nihil.	Nihil.*
Under Lt.-Gov. Stockenstrom's System, administered by himself in person,......................	1837 & 1838	2122	434
Under Lt.-Gov. Stockenstrom's System, administered by Col. Hare..	1839 to 1842	1263	320
Under do. from 1st Jan. to 17th Aug., 1843, ...	....	1956	367

* To the return NIHIL, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban's administration, some objection, it is understood, has been taken; but the individuals who are known to have troubled themselves to throw discredit upon this statement, which has repeatedly appeared in print, have either failed in proving its error, or not dared to give a public denial to its accuracy, and so its author repeats his record, challenging objectors. It is possible there may have been some few head of cattle abstracted during the early part of that happy period, but if so, the number was perfectly INAPPRECIABLE when compared with that under the Stockenstrom system, hailed by its friends as sure of putting an end to them altogether, and preventing any future wars. In fact, Colonel Smith's strict surveillance of the Adelaide province prevented all chance of depredation, for to use his own forcible and correct expression, "not a mouse could move in all Kafirland without his knowledge."

Whatever depredations, however, took place during the D'Urban system, occurred only at the CLOSE of its administration, and the cause is obvious. For many months previous to the official notice of its abandonment, the agents of the London Missionary Society had made its fate well known in the Colony, and especially among the Kafirs themselves, and this dangerous communication soon unsettled that people. Made aware that the restrictive hand of the Colonial Government was soon to be withdrawn, they again resorted to all their superstitious practices, including the punishment of witchcraft by torture and death, which had strictly been forbidden, and recommenced that system of plunder which has been increasing ever since. It cannot, therefore, be alleged with any truth that depredations took place under the administration of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy, but only that they took place as soon as the supercession of that just and admirable system was known to have been ordered.

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2d. The Matter of Compensation for the forcible Manumission of Slaves.

On this point it is known that Sir Benjamin did everything in his power—he transmitted the Petitions from the Western end of the Colony of the 22d March, 1834, and another in 1836, against the payment of the compensation in England, and which he supported by his own recommendations. These were answered by Lord Glenelg by a dogmatic negative. The losses sustained by this refusal are explained at page 43, part 1st. The amount was £1,835,796.

3d. The despair of the Colonists for Compensation by their natural, but negligent protectors, the British Government, for Losses by the unprovoked Kafir Invasion of 1834—35.

The nature of these losses, and the claims of the colonists, were fully made out by the Governor in his despatches of the 6th July, 1835, and 8th June, 1836, published in the Parliamentary Papers,* and strenuously recommended by him to a favorable consideration.

Vide page 279, No. 27, in which Lord Glenelg held out hopes of relief, although not immediate. Page 295, No. 30, where will be found the statement of the Board of Relief for the destitute, full of the most harrowing statements of undeserved suffering. Page 341, a petition to the King, signed by 736 inhabitants of the District of Albany, stating their wrongs, and praying redress,—and page 347, in which Lord Glenelg spurns the honest and straight-forward demand made by the sufferers for redress and compensation as a matter of "right." To meet the more pressing exigencies of the case Sir Benjamin advanced a sum of £16,000 to the sufferers, but which he very correctly observed was but as a drop of water to the ocean, and he earnestly begged "for some compensation for His Majesty's faithful subjects, who had been visited with calamities rarely paralleled, to them as overwhelming as hurricane or earthquake; as unexpected and unavoidable as they were undeserved by any act of the sufferers, and which neither prudence or foresight on their part could have averted or controlled." To these appeals the only answer condescended was a *justification* of the murderous inroad of the

* Ordered to be published by the House of Commons, 12th July, 1837—See also part 1st, page 39.

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savage, a decided refusal of any relief, and the adoption of a most cruel and dangerous system of Frontier policy.

4th. The Delay in the Issue of Title Deeds.

This was a real cause of dissatisfaction. The title deeds of millions of acres, promised and pledged by the government for years, were withheld, and it is only within a few months ago (1843) that even the British settlers of 1820 received their titles.

Sir Benjamin, at an early period, discovered the extent of this evil, and finding the excuse to be the want of hands in the Surveyor-General's Office, he relieved the chief of that department from his labors as Civil Engineer, by appointing another gentleman to that office, which took off much of his time, and in 1836—37, no less than eight hundred titles of land, including an extent of 6,653,921 acres in the districts of Somerset, Cradock, Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet, &c., were thus issued, These arrears, be it remembered, had accumulated *before* the administration of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

5th. The want of a more general dissemination of the Proclamations, Advertisements, Notices, &c., of the Government.

This want was met by a more liberal dispersion of the public notices, and a recommendation for their greater dissemination.

6th. The Necessity of better digested and more precise Instructions for the Country Magistrates.

These important manuals were revised—re-printed in both the Dutch and English languages, and very extensively circulated throughout the whole colony by orders of Sir Benjamin.

7th. A greater number of Provincial Magistrates.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban had a bill introduced into the Legislative Council for creating additional jurisdictions, but the measure was deferred in consequence of the expected arrival of Capt. Stockenstrom, as Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Province, who established some few of these upon assuming his government.

8th. The dislike to being enrolled as a militia force, which the Dutch farmers had been led to suppose was intended.

This measure, highly proper in itself, but misunderstood by the boers, had been ordered by the Secretary of State, but

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Sir Benjamin, in order to allay the ferment such a rumour had created, very wisely suspended it until further directions from home, and the government has not since thought proper to carry out their former intentions.

9th. THE WANT OF AN EFFICIENT VAGRANT LAW TO RID THEM OF LAWLESS AND IDLE CHARACTERS, WITH WHICH THE COUNTRY WAS INFESTED AND OVER-RUN.

A law to meet this intolerable evil was *pledged* by the Acting Governor, Col. Wade, in 1834 (vide part 1. p. 44), in order to induce the slave-holders to part with their property the more readily,—but the pledge was never redeemed. Since then various attempts have been made to procure a wholesome enactment of the kind applicable to *both whites and blacks*, but always successfully traversed by the Anti-Colonial party, headed by the Rev. Dr. Philip, and Mr. John Fairbairn, the Editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in this particular, did all he could; at the end of the year 1835, he dispatched Col. Somerset to the north and north-eastern boundary, who collected the wanderers that had squatted upon the colonial territory and expelled them. This mission had great effect to tranquillize the minds of the colonists of that part of the country, and the officer, entrusted with the arduous duty, reported that there *then* existed the best and *most loyal* feelings towards the British Government. Alas! that the subsequent derangements of the new system should have produced effects so dissimilar in character—but who is warranted in expecting figs from thorns!

10. THE WANT OF MORE CENTRAL SEATS OF MAGISTRACIES, MARKETS, ROADS, MILITARY POSTS, &c., ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE WINTERBERG.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, with a knowledge of the Colony superior to his predecessors, recommended the removal of the seat of the Supreme Government from Cape Town, the fag end of the Colony, to Uitenhage in its centre, and where, inevitably, it must sooner or later be placed. He also founded and fortified the Town of Fort Beaufort, established a Magistracy, a Market, and Matrimonial Court in that distant but populous locality, commenced the great Military Road to connect the Head Quarters at Graham's Town with the grain districts of the Winterberg and Tarka districts, established a Military Post at Fort Retief, in its exposed neighborhood, and it is known projected a number of extensive improvements under the above head.

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11th. THE WANT OF ROOM FOR THE RAPIDLY INCREASING POPULATION, WHICH HE FORESAW COULD NOT BE RESTRAINED WITHIN THE LIMITS OF A COUNTRY WITH SUCH SLIGHT BARRIERS AGAINST EGRESS.

To meet this, the Governor, after the war of 1835, annexed the province of Adelaide to the Colony, where, without compressing the native population, was abundance of lands for the whites, whose introduction among the Kafirs would gradually have raised that people in the scale of civilization. It was also the Governor's intention to have located the Neutral or ceded Territory with Colonists, as well as the territory along the Kraai River and Stormberg Spruits, which fall into the southern branch of the Orange River. These wise measures were, however, frustrated by irresponsible or ambitious advisers, the last-named location, to which the Kafirs never laid claim was given up to them,—the greater part of the Neutral Territory, never theirs, was shamefully surrendered as a reward for their bloody irruption,—the province of Adelaide was disallowed, and the consequence has been to embolden the Kafir savages, and to cause the defection of 12,000 of Her Majesty's subjects.

D.—PUBLIC PAPERS OMITTED IN THE RE-PRINT.

The following extracts from two important documents, in further proof that both the Government in the Colony and that at home, had full *warning* of the Emigration, its true causes, and its probable results—and that from the lips and pens of the men themselves, who, as sufferers, predicted the consequences which would invevitably ensue should their representations be neglected—have by accident been omitted in their proper place, under the years 1835 and 1837. The reader is, therefore, requested to supply the deficiency.

The *first* extract is from a Petition to Parliament, explanatory of the "*Wrongs of the Colonists,*" the unprovoked nature of the Kafir Invasion of 1834, the cruelty of the sufferers by that invasion, being taunted as the causes of their own misery, and a demand for a Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Colonists, to be held on the spot of the Colonists' alleged aggressions. This Petition emanated from the Western Province of the Colony, to which the horrors of the invasion had not extended, but it shows what were the just feelings of the community upon that atrocious inroad. It also brought to the knowledge of the Government the fact of the commencement of the present ruinous abandonment of the

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Colony by the Dutch Farmers. *It was signed by all the influential portion of the western population, and was—as usual —DISREGARDED*—that is, the Petition was introduced into the House of Commons upon the 10th of July, 1838, when Sir George Grey stated that which had no foundation except in the works of the anti-colonial faction or his own imagination, namely, that "*There had undoubtedly been a series of continual aggressions* BY THE BRITISH SETTLERS *on the Kafirs,*" that these transactions were "*disgraceful to the British name, and prejudicial to British interests,*" that Parliament "*ought not to sanction the application of persons who had placed themselves in trouble and peril by means of their aggressions,*" and that *the British Settlers had admitted their own culpability.* Upon which a House, which was obliged to be counted in order to discover whether it was legally constituted to decide a question, probably *play* to it, but *death* to the Colonists, in other words, whether there were 40 members present, settled by a majority of 9, that the Colonists should not be heard in their own defence. It is needless to say that with regard to the admission of guilt by the British Settlers, that either Sir George had dreamt that such was the case, or had been deluded into the belief—whichever the case, neither is creditable to the Honorable Member.

[Extract 1.]

That the Colonists of the Eastern Borders have been subject to so long a continuance of these unredressed miseries, that at length not less than from 2,000 to 3,000 of their hardest peasantry, the best defenders of the Frontier, have been forced to emigrate from the country, wearied out by the incessant outrages to which they have been exposed,—and that this unfortunate expatriation is likely to become so extensive, as to leave the North-eastern limits perfectly unprotected, in consequence of the inefficient measures hitherto pursued by his Majesty's Government, to secure their lives and property, and the reckless future policy which the Secretary of State's Despatch fully discloses, threatening a continuance of all the horrors to which they have been liable, and which they had hoped, through the energetic yet humane measures introduced by His Excellency the Governor, after a thorough experience and personal acquaintance with the Kafir character, would at length have been put a stop to,—that these unfortunate Colonists have, therefore, determined to abandon the land of their forefathers, to seek in the wilds of uncivilized Africa, at the imminent risk of their lives, a respite, however uncertain, from the injuries and misery to which they and their families have been subjected, and to which they can forsee no assignable limit.

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The second extract is from a Petition to the Sovereign in Council, from the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet, dated the 17th July, 1835. It gives a lucid retrospective view of the intercourse of the Colonists with the Kafir people, and foretells with fatal prescience that should Government fail in its duty to indemnify the losses of the inhabitants by the Kafir invasion, and to *devise the means of security for the future,* the subjects of the Sovereign would be *forced to flee* the Colony. This Petition was signed by 364 persons, among whom were Maritz, Pretorious, and others, who were destined to confirm the predictions they then made, and who, as their warning was not regarded, expatriated themselves, and have since commanded their countrymen against the troops of the Colony. The Petition was duly sent home to the Government and treated with the contempt of—silence:—

[Extract 2]

That the ruin consequently brought upon the frontier districts of this Colony, has been of so general a character, that your Majesty's Petitioners cannot but express their fear that, unless the national *justice* of Great Britain shall speedily *indemnify the Colonists for their undeserved and ruinous losses*, and unless measures are devised in the wisdom of your Majesty's Government *to ensure future security*, that *many thousands of your Majesty's subjects will be reduced to poverty, or forced to fly from the Colony; that a large portion of your Majesty's Dominions may remain a desert, and that the opening prospects of extending civilization and religion in this quarter of Africa to the advantage and to the honor of the British Empire may be entirely obscured.*

FINIS.

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